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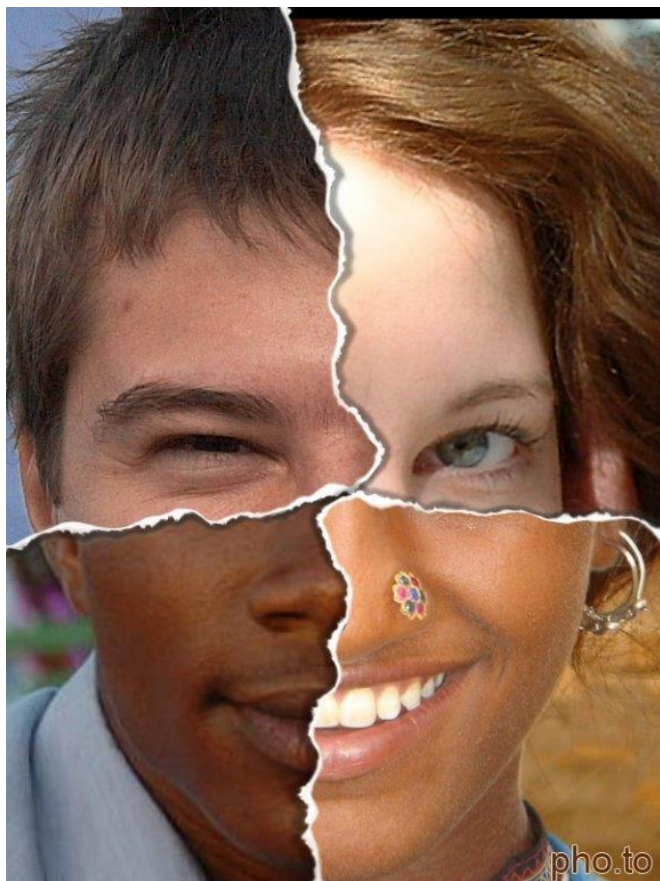
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Tolerance through education



Mapping the determinants of young people's attitudes towards equal rights for immigrants and ethnic/racial minorities in Europe

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Abstract

Many civic and citizenship education programmes in Europe promote the development of tolerance towards immigrants or, more in general, towards people of ethnic/racial minorities or different cultural backgrounds. Although individuals form their attitudes in multiple settings, schools and educational systems are often perceived as key agents in nurturing these sentiments in the youth. This report is a collection of research papers that intend to document the determinants of young people's attitudes towards equal rights for immigrants and ethnic/racial minorities in Europe.

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Note

This report is part of the KNOW – Human Capital for prosperity and sustainable growth in Europe - Institutional Working Program of DG JRC's Unit DDG.01 – Econometrics and Applied Statistics. KNOW acknowledges that education, skills, research and innovation are major sources of economic prosperity. To achieve a better understanding of the importance of human capital for growth, KNOW - Institutional uses the multidisciplinary expertise of a team of researchers within the Centre for Research on Education and Lifelong Learning (CRELL) to undergo empirical analysis on human capital formation over the life-cycle across EU countries.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Many civic and citizenship education programmes in Europe promote the development of tolerance towards immigrants or, more in general, towards people of ethnic/racial minorities or different cultural backgrounds. Although individuals form their attitudes in multiple settings, schools and educational systems are often perceived as key agents in nurturing these sentiments in the youth.

This report is a collection of research papers that intend to document the determinants of young people's attitudes towards equal rights for immigrants and ethnic/racial minorities in Europe. The five chapters included here were prepared for the invited paper session "Tolerance through Education" organized in collaboration with the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) at its 6th International Research Conference (IRC-2015) in June 2015.

Integrating insights from several theoretical perspectives and building on data from the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) 2009, the authors illustrate the relevance of large-scale assessments in education at the European level for the development of the knowledge-base on determinants of tolerant attitudes toward immigrants and ethnic/racial minorities.

In particular, most findings highlight the importance of democratic school cultures and of the expected beneficial effects of a school climate that nurtures positive student-teacher relationships and classroom discussions in which free dialogue and critical debate are encouraged among people of diverse backgrounds.

The findings highlighted in the introduction and detailed in each chapter provide relevant policy, research and practices messages that offer insights into the important role schools can play in promoting tolerance and integration in Europe.

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INTRODUCTION

Maria Magdalena Isac – DG JRC, Unit DDG.01
Econometrics and Applied Statistics

Promoting equity, *social cohesion*, and *active citizenship* is a long-term European commitment in the field of education. Already in 2009 (Council of the European Union, 2009), European Member States had identified this theme as one of the strategic objectives of the Strategic Framework for Education and Training (ET2020) and agreed that:

“Education should promote intercultural competences, democratic values and respect for fundamental rights and the environment, as well as combat all forms of discrimination, equipping all young people to interact positively with their peers from diverse backgrounds.”

The tragic outbursts of violent extremism in 2015, the considerable increase of the ethnic diversity of European societies over the past few decades, the unprecedented current migration crisis in Europe (OECD/European Union, 2015; OECD, 2015), and the apparently more negative public opinion on immigration and immigrants (OECD/European Union, 2015; OECD, 2015) have prompted a renewed European focus on building an inclusive, tolerant, and socially cohesive society through education. For example, the 2015 *Paris Declaration*¹ *on promoting citizenship and the common values of freedom, tolerance and non-discrimination through education* called for a European policy framework to help Member States strengthen the key contribution, which education makes to social inclusion, non-discrimination, and active citizenship by ensuring that fundamental civic values are passed on to future generations and that young people acquire social, civic and intercultural competences. This initiative was further reflected in the Council and the Commission’s

¹ Declaration agreed between the European Ministers responsible for Education and Tibor Navracsics, Commissioner for Education, Culture, Youth and Sport in Paris, 17th of March 2015 (see http://ec.europa.eu/education/news/2015/documents/citizenship-education-declaration_en.pdf).

proposal of making *Inclusive education, equality, non-discrimination, and civic competences* one of the six new priority areas for European cooperation in Education and Training (ET2020) (European Commission, 2015).

Promoting inclusion, tolerance and active citizenship are not new goals for European educational systems. Yet, given the current societal challenges faced by the Member States, it becomes essential to promote strategies to address the integration of different ethnic, immigrant and social groups through education and to ensure that young people are socialized into active citizens.

Although broader conceptualizations exist, integration is often understood in terms of developing tolerant, positive attitudes toward different others with the final aim of increasing a society's social cohesion. European educational systems have a tradition in addressing such goals by means of civic and citizenship education programs, and tolerance towards other groups has always been regarded as an essential element of democratic culture. In this respect, in the last decades, many countries have reformed their civic and citizenship education by introducing curricular innovations or intensifying the already existing educational programs in the field (Barzea, 2003; Eurydice, 2005; Eurydice, 2012). Moreover, to assess such educational measures and guide the efforts of policy-makers and educators to strengthen civic and citizenship education in European countries, international large-scale assessments of civic and citizenship education and civic and citizenship competences of youth were conducted. With regard to providing such information, the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) 2009² conducted by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) has proved to be a landmark and a rich source of information for extended secondary data analyses at the European level (e.g. Eurydice, 2012; Kerr, Sturman, Schulz, & Burge, 2010; Saisana, Hoskins, & Harrison Villaba, 2012).

² ICCS 2009 assessed the knowledge about and attitudes towards democracy and citizenship (including attitudes toward immigrants and ethnic/racial minorities) of lower-secondary school students (grade 8) in 38 countries around the world. These included 26 European countries (see Schulz, Ainley, Fraillon, Kerr, Losito, 2010) most of which administered a European regional module questionnaire to students that covered knowledge about and attitudes towards European issues related to politics and citizenship.

The current report aims to illustrate the relevance of large-scale assessments in education at the European level for the development of the knowledge-base on determinants of tolerant attitudes toward immigrants and ethnic/racial minorities. While acknowledging the importance of other similar surveys of adult populations (e.g. European Social Survey, European Barometers), we focus particularly on young people and the potential of the ICCS 2009 international survey in this respect.

The report is another product of a long-standing fruitful collaboration between the IEA and DG JRC's Unit DDG.01 – Econometrics and Applied Statistics in the field of civic and citizenship education. The research papers included in this document were prepared for the invited paper session “Tolerance through Education” co-organized by the IEA and the DG JRC at the IEA 6th International Research Conference (IRC-2015). This paper session was designed as a follow up of the 2013 conference “Lessons Learned for Understanding Civic and Citizenship Education: An International Overlook”³.

The authors that contributed to this endeavour reflected independently from each other on how to conceptualize the concept of tolerance and its determinants in the context of the ICCS 2009 survey and developed unique conceptual frameworks. The result of such approach illustrates both communalities as well as different, yet complementary, foci of interest. While the latter are illustrated in the overview of the chapters further detailed in this introduction, the former concerns similar approaches to defining tolerance and similar theoretical frameworks informing the choices made in identifying the determinants of tolerant attitudes toward immigrants and ethnic/racial minorities. In that respect, within the framework of ICCS, most of the authors focus on several measures of “political tolerance” (see also Quintelier & Dejaeghere, 2008) or the willingness to grant democratic and political rights to groups such as immigrants and ethnic/racial minorities as opposed to looking at “social tolerance” or the evaluation of direct contact with people from another group. Moreover, although several other theoretic perspectives are incorporated, when mapping the potential determinants of tolerance, all authors have opted for the well-known contact hypothesis developed by Allport (1954). Based on this framework, many scholars

³ See <https://ec.europa.eu/jrc/en/event/conference/cce-research-seminar>

(e.g. Pettigrew and Tropp, 2006; Pettigrew, Tropp, Wagner & Christ, 2011) argue that direct contact between members of different groups provides them with positive intergroup experiences, which will eventually generalize into more positive attitudes towards the entire out-group. Furthermore, educational experiences in classroom settings where young people interact on the basis of equality, share common goals of learning, cooperate on different tasks and receive support from authority figures such as teachers are argued to provide the best conditions for positive contact between students of different origins.

While these common conceptualizations provide a solid link among the chapters, each contribution adds to the knowledge-base on determinants of tolerant attitudes toward immigrants and ethnic/racial minorities in original and insightful ways.

To commence, Chapter 1 by Falk Brese looks at the determinants of positive attitudes towards equal rights for all ethnic/racial groups in Europe among students of different socio-economic background. Making use of ICCS 2009 complemented by the information gathered in the European regional module of the survey, the author operationalizes interpersonal contact as the opportunities that young people have to participate at school and the wider community (at national and European levels); he argues that feelings of empathy and perceptions of a common identity could mediate the effects of contact. Although the results presented show a lot of variation across countries opening up the venue for further in-depth country specific analyses regarding context-specific indicators, the contribution is conclusive in pointing out findings that generalize across most European countries. In this respect, the author finds that creating opportunities for civic participation at school (e.g. fostering discussions, debates and decision-making processes that expose young people to different opinions) may be an important strategy for developing positive attitudes towards equal rights for all ethnic/racial groups in most countries. In addition, this chapter also concludes that feelings of belonging to a bigger entity (in this case, a sense of European Identity) may already imply accepting diversity and seem to be positively related to attitudes towards equal rights for all ethnic/racial groups.

Chapter 2 by Maria Magdalena Isac, Ralf Maslowski and Greetje van der Werf, looks in turn at young people's attitudes toward equal rights for immigrants. The contribution focuses on one of the most frequent operationalizations of "contact" in classroom settings. Using information from the ICCS 2009 study for 18 European countries, the authors

investigate whether the proportion of immigrant students in a school or the opportunity to interact with non-native peers is linked with more positive attitudes among native students toward immigrants in general. The findings presented indicate that across the European countries the share of immigrant students in a classroom is weakly but positively related to native students' attitudes toward immigrants. Moreover, the results also show that stimulating a democratic classroom climate in which free dialogue and critical debate are encouraged could be an important asset if schools want to create the right conditions for the development of positive attitudes towards immigrants. Although this study provides some support to the assumption that providing opportunities for contact in classroom settings is one avenue to pursue in working toward tolerant attitudes, it also shows (by means of country-specific analyses) that opportunities for contact may not be necessarily sufficient in all cases and points out to the need of examining potential contextual conditions that may hinder or support mixed schooling.

Wolfram Schulz argues in Chapter 3 that in times of increasing diversity of European societies, is important to look at several measures of endorsing equal rights for several groups (e.g. both attitudes toward immigrants and ethnic/racial minorities rights) and to illustrate the different perspectives that students with and without an immigrant background may have on these issues. On the basis of analyses on European countries participating in the ICCS survey, the author concludes that the level of endorsement of equal rights for social groups in society by young people tends, as expected, to be partly a question of perspective. More specifically, he finds that in many European countries young people from minority groups are more likely to support equal rights for immigrants as well as equal rights for all ethnic/racial groups as compared with their native peers. In addition, this contribution reflects on methodological improvements and discusses potential options (e.g. oversampling strategies to increase the statistical power of group comparisons) to improve the quality of data collected in large-scale assessments in education when examining such issues.

Silvia Diazgranados and Andres Sandoval-Hernandez in Chapter 4 reiterate the focus on the perspectives of different groups advanced in Chapter 3. The authors focus on inequality, identifying gaps in young people's attitudes toward equal rights along the lines of their socio-economic background; they investigate the attitudes that young people from different socio-economic backgrounds in 22 ICCS European countries have toward equal

rights for all ethnic/racial minorities as well as for immigrants. Echoing results from European adult surveys (e.g. European Social Survey, European Barometer), their findings show that in most EU countries students from advantaged socio-economic backgrounds exhibit more supportive attitudes toward equal rights for ethnic/racial minorities and immigrants than their peers from lower socio-economic backgrounds. Next to pointing out the need of increased attention in educating the latter group, their findings also illustrate the potential of positive student-teacher relationships and openness to classroom discussion for helping students become appreciative of diversity and respectful of the opinions, interests, and needs of people from other groups. The authors conclude by providing valuable suggestions for educators and policy-makers. They argue, for example, that schools can play an important role in promoting tolerance and integration and point out that school interventions aimed at improving school climate and supporting teachers in their efforts coupled with rigorous impact evaluations may have important returns in terms of tolerance and integration.

In Chapter 5 and by integrating insights from several theoretical perspectives, Julia Higdon examines the determinants of intercultural attitudes (equal rights for immigrants, equal rights for all ethnic/racial groups and, protectionist attitudes toward migration) among native-born adolescents in Europe. The chapter includes an additional measure of tolerance - protectionist attitudes toward migration - and gives particular attention to the specificity of cultural contexts and contextualization of research findings. In that respect, the analyses are applied to a selected group of seven ICCS European countries that are chosen to represent a wide range of historical backgrounds, economic conditions, political climate, and migration rates. In line with similar findings reported here (e.g. Chapters 1, 2 and 4), this chapter confirms with detailed and sophisticated statistical analyses that some elements of the school context (positive student and teacher relations and democratic practice in schools) are particularly relevant to positive intergroup attitudes. It is argued that intercultural physical contact is less relevant than the overall culture and climate of schools, which may include cultural tools and frameworks to make sense of the self and the other. Moreover, one of the many other interesting findings of this study suggests that positive attitudes towards equal rights of different others may be developed in harmony. In that respect, the author shows, for example, that young people who are willing to extend human rights to women are also willing to extend human rights to immigrant groups.

Taken together, these findings may provide useful hints for educators and policy-makers for designing school interventions aimed at promoting tolerance and integration. While all authors are well aware of and extensively discuss the limitations of inferences drawn from such correlational, cross-sectional findings, they also acknowledge the value of such data for formulating hypotheses to be further tested with rigorous interventions and impact evaluations. In that respect, most findings reported here seem to highlight the importance of democratic school cultures and particularly of the expected beneficial effects of a school climate that nurtures positive student-teacher relationships and classroom discussions in which free dialogue and critical debate are encouraged among people of diverse background. Moreover, attention to different perspectives and targeting schools that serve disadvantaged student populations could potentially reduce the attitude gaps identified among students from different socioeconomic backgrounds in the European societies.

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Tolerance towards Minority Groups amongst European Students

With the Arabic Spring in 2011 resulting in an increased number of refugees trying to escape war, political or religious persecution, political suppression, starvation or other menacing situations, tolerance towards minorities has become an even more important political issue in Europe. Nonetheless, also other minority groups in a society, for example with regard to confession, migration background, ethnic origin, or mental or physical disabilities, are threatened with discrimination.

Recent research indicates that involvement in social networks influences the level of tolerance amongst school students. This paper will use the 'contact hypothesis' (proposed by Allport, 1954, extended by Cameron et al, 2007, and Côté & Erikson, 2009) as a framework to explore differences in tolerance of European students towards minority groups. The hypothesis assumes that involvement in social networks that involve contact of one's own peer group with other groups correlates with the level of tolerance towards the other group, with type and nature of the contact moderating this relationship. This hypothesis will be explored with data from 14 year-old school students from European countries participating in IEA's International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) 2009. Simultaneous models for students with high and low socio-economic status (SES) will be estimated to explore whether 'contact' affects high and low SES students in different ways.

Results show some support for the contact hypothesis for 8th grade students of several European countries participating in ICCS 2009. While participation in the wider community does only seem to play a role in some countries, participation in school activities shows a relation to tolerance at least to some extent in most European countries. This suggests that opportunities for group activities at school could be important for developing tolerant attitudes towards minorities

Chapter 1: TOLERANCE TOWARDS MINORITY GROUPS AMONGST EUROPEAN STUDENTS

*Falk Brese – IEA Data Processing and Research Center, Germany*⁴

1. Introduction

Tolerance towards minorities has become an even more important political issue in Europe since the Arabic Spring in 2011 which resulted in an increased number of refugees trying to escape war, political or religious persecution, political suppression, starvation or other situations of struggling. Europe was one of the major refugee destinations. In accordance, the number of people seeking asylum in the European Union member countries has grown significantly over the past couple of years.⁵ Most recent violent acts like burning down houses that are supposed to become interim homes for refugees in Germany outline the importance of tolerance.⁶ Unfortunately, but sometimes not that prominent and visible in the media, also other groups in a society are threatened with discrimination. These are groups with people with, for example, a religion different from the prevailing religion, with a migration background, with different ethnic origin, or mental or physical disabilities. In 1997, article 13 was adopted in the Amsterdam treaty of the European Union enabling the European Council to take action against discrimination. The research project “Accept pluralism” which has been commissioned by the European Commission as part of the 7th framework program provided, amongst others, a handbook on tolerance aiming at secondary school students (Triandafyllidou, 2012). With the new commission, fighting discrimination remains on the agenda of the European Commission (see Juncker, 2014).

⁴ falk.brese@iea-dpc.de

⁵See:

<http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/tgm/table.do?tab=table&init=1&language=en&pcode=tps00191&plugin=1>
(last accessed 30.5.2015, 10:43am)

⁶See <http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/german-refugee-hostel-attacks-on-the-rise-a-1027994.html> (last accessed 30.5.2015, 10:58am)

Again under the umbrella of the 7th framework program of the European Commission, research projects have been implemented addressing the role of schools regarding the development of tolerant attitudes, for example, the EDUMIGROM project investigating the effect of ethnic differences in education.⁷ Results showed, for example, that students of ethnic minorities tend to be concentrated in certain schools or certain classes within schools and perform to lower expectations in separate schools. Regarding tolerance, the report states that an “ethnically mixed school environment significantly enhances acceptance of the “other” – be it defined in social or ethnic terms” (Szalai, 2011, p.24).

2. Literature review and hypotheses

This paper builds upon research by Caro and Schulz (2012) who investigated the tolerance of Latin American secondary school students towards minorities. While addressing also other hypotheses, they found some evidence for the contact hypothesis for the Latin American students.

The contact hypothesis introduced by Allport (1954) proposes that interpersonal contact between majority and minority group members can reduce prejudice and foster positive attitudes towards the other group. Interaction outcomes are related to the conditions of the contact, for example the existence of common goals and the acceptance/existence of some higher authority favoring the contact. Wright, Aron, McLaughlin-Volpe, & Ropp (1997) have extended the hypothesis. They suggest that already the mere knowledge about contact, or friendship, of members of one’s own group with members of the other group favors positive attitudes towards the other group (members). Among others, Paulini, Hewstone, & Cairns (2007) and Turner, Hewstone, Voci, & Vonofakou (2008) presented some evidence for this so-called extended contact hypothesis. Further, Cameron, Rutland, Brown and Dutch (2006) showed in an intervention study that telling stories about a positive interaction with a refugee child to 5-11 year old British children resulted in more positive attitudes towards refugee children. Recent research suggests, however, that direct contact to members of minority groups, for example friendship, is more effective in changing attitudes towards other groups (Feddes, Noack, & Rutland, 2009). Feddes et al.

⁷ See <http://www.edumigrom.eu/> (last assessed 30.5.2015, 12:14 am)

(2009) added that social status is a moderating factor regarding these effects. Further, Thijs and Verkuyten (2014) point out that effects on attitudes might be differential regarding the extent of prejudice of both the individual and the group the individual belongs to. They cite one longitudinal study that found evidence that a (positive) change in attitudes towards other ethnic groups was biggest amongst students with unfavorable attitudes (Munniksmä, Stark, Verkuyten, Flache, & Veenstra, 2013). Finally, empathy and perceptions of a common identity seem also to play a role and mediating the effects of (direct or indirect) contact (Dovidio, Johnson, Gaertner, Person, Saguy, and Ashburn-Nado, 2010).

This paper will explore the contact hypothesis with data from European secondary school students, taking into account their families' social status.

3. Data and Methods

3.1. Data

The paper will use data from the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) 2009 conducted by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA). The study assessed the knowledge about and attitudes towards democracy and citizenship of lower-secondary school students (usually in grade 8) in 38 countries around the world; including 26 European countries (see Schulz, Ainley, Fraillon, Kerr, Losito, 2010). Students were asked to complete a knowledge test and a questionnaire inquiring on attitudes and background information. In addition, most of the European countries administered a European regional module questionnaire to students that covered knowledge about and attitudes towards European issues related to politics and citizenship.

For this paper data from all 23 countries were included that surveyed the additional European regional module questionnaire. Table 1 shows the countries and their respective student sample sizes.

In ICCS, attitudes scales were derived using the Rasch Partial Credit Model (Masters & Wright, 1997) with weighted likelihood estimates set to a mean of 50 and a standard deviation of 10. National samples satisfying IEA participation standards were equally weighted (Schulz, Ainley, & Fraillon, 2011).

Table 1-1 Countries included in the analysis and their respective student sample sizes

Country	Student Sample	Country	Student Sample
Austria	3385	Latvia	2761
Belgium (Flemish Region)	2968	Liechtenstein	357
Bulgaria	3256	Lithuania	3912
Cyprus	3194	Luxembourg	4852
Czech Republic	4630	Malta	2143
Denmark	4508	Poland	3249
England	2916	Slovak Republic	2970
Estonia	2743	Slovenia	3070
Finland	3307	Spain	3309
Greece	3153	Sweden	3464
Ireland	3355	Switzerland	2924
Italy	3366		

4. Model

For the analysis OLS (ordinary least square) regression models were calculated using the IEA IDB Analyzer (v3.1.25).⁸ To account for the complex sampling design, ICCS 2009 used sampling weights to estimate unbiased population parameters and the jackknife repeated replication technique to estimate unbiased standard errors. Students with missing data for any variable were not considered for the analysis.

5. Variables

Details about scaling like composition of scales and reliabilities are provided in the ICCS 2009 Technical Report (Schulz, Ainley, & Fraillon, 2011).

⁸ The IEA IDB Analyzer is an analysis tool especially tailored to international large-scale assessments (ILSA) taking into account the complex sample designs used in these ILSAs. The software includes variance estimation calculation like jackknife repeated replication (JRR) and balanced repeated replication (BRR). The software is available for free download at: <http://www.ica.nl/data.html>

5.1. Dependent Variables

As dependent variable the scale about students' attitudes towards equal rights for all ethnic/racial groups (variable name: ETHRGHT) was used. The reliability of the scale for all countries' data was satisfactory (Cronbach's Alpha, $\alpha=0.83$). The scale was derived from five statements students were asked to agree or disagree to, like equal chance for all groups to get a good education, get a good job, or having the same rights and responsibilities. Higher scale scores indicate more positive attitudes towards equal rights for all ethnic/racial groups.

5.2. Independent Variables

ICCS 2009 data contains several scales regarding participation in group activities. They were included in the analysis for this paper as they indicate contact with outside (peer) group members:

- Students' civic participation in the wider community (PARTCOM; $\alpha=0.74$): 7 items asking if the student has ever participated in activities like youth organizations affiliated with a political party or union, human rights organization, or a cultural organization based on ethnicity. Higher scale scores indicate more participation in the wider community.
- Students' civic participation at school (PARTSCHL; $\alpha=0.66$): 6 items asking if the student has ever participated in activities like active participation in a debate, taking part in decision-making about how the school is run, or taking part in discussions at a school assembly. Higher scale scores indicate more civic participation at school.
- Participation in European activities (EUPART; $\alpha=0.73$): 8 items asking if the student has ever participated in activities like meetings involving people from other European countries, sports events in another European country, exchange programs with students from other European countries, or events about the art and culture of other European countries. Higher scale scores indicate more participation in European activities.
- Sense of European identity (EUIDENT; $\alpha=0.74$): 5 items asking students how much they agree with statements like seeing oneself as European, feeling part of Europe, or seeing oneself first as a citizen of Europe and then as a citizen of the world. Higher scale scores indicate a stronger feeling of identity as a European.

5.3. Control variables

The following variables were included in the analysis as potential mediating factors:

- Family socioeconomic status (NISB): ICCS derived a *national index of students' socioeconomic background* from students' information on the highest occupational status and the highest educational level of the parents and the number of books at home. The final NISB scores had a mean of 0 and a standard deviation of 1 for each country. In order to run simultaneous models for students with different socioeconomic status (SES), three groups of students were determined: those with low SES (more than 1 SD below mean), medium SES (ranging from 1 SD below mean to 1 SD above mean), and high SES (more than 1 SD above mean).
- Gender (SGENDER): Students gender, coded as 0 for boys and 1 for girls.

6. Findings

In general, the data support the contact hypothesis. Civic participation at school and in some cases also participation in activities of the wider community seems to favor more positive attitudes towards equal rights for ethnic groups. Civic participation at school shows significant effects across most of the countries and all three SES groups, with some exceptions for the low SES group.

Table 2 shows an example results table with data from Cyprus. The table includes the standardized regression coefficients and the adjusted explained variance for the two models separated for each SES group. The estimated model parameters for all countries can be found in the appendix. Liechtenstein did not show any significant results.

Table 1-2 Example results table (Cyprus data).

Country	NISB	Model A (3 Predictors)			Model B (5 Predictors)		
		Low	Medium	High	Low	Medium	High
Cyprus	PARTSCHL	0,18	0,16	0,14	0,21	0,17	0,12
	EUIDENT	0,19	0,15	0,08	0,18	0,16	0,08
	EUPART				0,04	-0,07	-0,02
	PARTCOM				-0,08	0,03	0,09
	SGENDER	0,13	0,16	0,24	0,13	0,15	0,24
	R ² (adj.)	0,09	0,08	0,09	0,10	0,09	0,09

Results in red color are not significant at the 95% level

Results in black color are significant at the 95% level:

	>0,10
	0,05-0,10

The analysis also suggests that empathy might play a role in explaining differences in tolerance towards minority groups. The sense of European identity shows significant effect sizes again across most of the countries and all three SES groups, here with some exceptions for the high SES group. An explanation might be that there is less variation in tolerance towards minorities in the high SES group compared to the medium and low SES groups.

Overall, the analysis shows a diverse picture. The amount of explained variance by the full model differs by country and SES group. While the model explains some variance in the attitudes towards equal rights for all ethnic groups of low SES students in Finland (15%), Switzerland and Bulgaria (13%), the model does not seem to explain significant variance in several other countries (for example, Italy, Austria and Spain).

Regarding the different SES groups, the highest amount of explained variance can be found with students of the low SES groups. But again, when comparing the SES groups within a country, there is no common pattern for all countries in terms of variance explained by the full model. In Finland (15%/10%/7%), Bulgaria (13%/5%/6%) and Switzerland (13%/3%/n.s.) the model seems to fit best the low SES group, whereas in Denmark (4%/7%/5%), Estonia (n.s./8%/6%) and Malta (n.s./8%/n.s.) the medium SES group' fit shows up best, and in Belgium (Flemish Region) (n.s./5%/8%), Latvia (n.s./3%/7%) and Slovenia (6%/8%/10%) it is the high SES group.

For most of the countries, however, the participation in European activities (EUPART) and participation in activities of the wider community (PARTCOM) do not show as significant predictors. These two scales were hence removed from the model and a reduced model was estimated, showing almost similar results.

Still, there are some countries where those two scales show at least some predictive power. In Bulgaria, for example, participation in activities of the wider community (PARTCOM) even seems to reduce acceptance of equal rights for ethnic groups in the low SES group, whilst Europe identity (EUIDENT) plays a very strong role in this group, compared to the other SES groups and also to other countries. In Denmark, participation in activities in the wider community seems to favor more positive attitudes towards equal rights in the medium SES group.

For the few countries that show significant effects of participation in European activities (EUPART), more participation seems to be related with fewer acceptances of equal rights

for ethnic groups. This is the case for the medium SES groups in Bulgaria, Cyprus, Greece, Ireland, and Malta. On the contrary, a positive effect can be observed for Finland, again in the medium SES group.

7. Discussion

How far can the predictors used in this analysis (and available in the ICCS 2009 data) be used as indicators for students' contact with (members of) other groups? Not surprisingly, the ICCS 2009 instruments were not tailored to test the contact hypothesis. Nevertheless, participation in group activities, for example measured as *participation in activities in the wider community* (PARTCOM), can be seen as a fair proxy for some contact to members of different groups students' do not have contact with otherwise, for example, a voluntary group supporting the community. Still, the extent to which such activities provide opportunities for contact with other groups remains unknown. However, students engaged in such activities evidently enhance their chances for those contacts compared to those who spend most time within their peer group.

The items contributing to the *civic participation at school* scale (PARTSCHL) have some more potential to reflect contacts with members from other groups. Discussions, debates and decision-making processes usually gather individuals representing different opinions. In the course of coming to agreements, members of different groups interact. Hence, the items of this scale can be seen as a good indicator for the extent of interpersonal contact with other groups.

The *sense of European identity* as a scale (EUINDENT) showed - among the analyzed variables - the highest predictive power on attitudes towards equal rights. It is arguable if the scale can serve as an indicator for empathy. On the one hand, feelings about belonging to a bigger entity than one's own family, one's neighborhood, friends and peer groups, and possibly one's region or country, includes already a notion of accepting diversity – in this case diversity within Europe. On the other hand, feelings towards a European identity involve separation from other regions in the world.

Results have shown only some support for the contact hypothesis. However, there is no clear picture, with a lot of variation across countries. Along the lines of this paper, it could be worth looking into single countries in more detail, for example using different indicators as possible predictors of attitudes towards equal rights. Further, models with single items or a differently compiled new scale as the dependent variable could be even more informative.

As the results have shown there is quite a bit of variation among the countries included in the analysis regarding significance and effect sizes of the indicators used in the regression models of this paper. The ICCS 2009 data have more potential to test hypotheses for and explain variation in tolerance towards minorities, beyond the contact hypothesis.

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9. Appendix

Model estimates for explained variance (R^2 adjusted) and standardized regression coefficients grouped by students with low, medium and high SES per country. Model A shows the results for the reduced model, Model B for the full model.

Country	NISB	Model A (3 Predictors)			Model B (5 Predictors)		
		Low	Medium	High	Low	Medium	High
Austria	PARTSCHL	0,11	0,07	0,13	0,12	0,07	0,14
	EUIDENT	0,15	0,10	0,08	0,16	0,10	0,07
	EUPART				0,04	0,02	0,06
	PARTCOM				-0,07	-0,01	-0,06
	SGENDER	0,07	0,13	0,10	0,08	0,14	0,10
	R ² (adj.)	0,04	0,03	0,03	0,05	0,03	0,04
Belgium	PARTSCHL	0,03	0,08	0,16	0,00	0,07	0,17
	EUIDENT	0,10	0,17	0,09	0,10	0,17	0,10
	EUPART				0,01	0,03	-0,07
	PARTCOM				0,09	0,03	0,01
	SGENDER	0,07	0,15	0,16	0,07	0,15	0,16
	R ² (adj.)	0,02	0,05	0,07	0,02	0,05	0,08
Bulgaria	PARTSCHL	-0,05	0,09	0,04	0,06	0,09	0,00
	EUIDENT	0,31	0,15	0,15	0,30	0,15	0,13
	EUPART				-0,05	-0,05	0,09
	PARTCOM				-0,17	0,03	0,09
	SGENDER	0,12	0,14	0,15	0,11	0,14	0,14
	R ² (adj.)	0,11	0,05	0,05	0,13	0,05	0,06
Cyprus	PARTSCHL	0,18	0,16	0,14	0,21	0,17	0,12
	EUIDENT	0,19	0,15	0,08	0,18	0,16	0,08
	EUPART				0,04	-0,07	-0,02
	PARTCOM				-0,08	0,03	0,09
	SGENDER	0,13	0,16	0,24	0,13	0,15	0,24
	R ² (adj.)	0,09	0,08	0,09	0,10	0,09	0,09
Czech Republic	PARTSCHL	0,08	0,07	0,15	0,07	0,05	0,15
	EUIDENT	0,22	0,19	0,11	0,21	0,18	0,11
	EUPART				0,04	0,01	0,07
	PARTCOM				0,00	0,07	-0,05
	SGENDER	0,13	0,12	0,09	0,14	0,11	0,10
	R ² (adj.)	0,07	0,06	0,05	0,07	0,06	0,06
Denmark	PARTSCHL	0,04	0,13	0,14	0,02	0,10	0,11
	EUIDENT	-0,05	0,09	0,02	-0,07	0,09	0,01
	EUPART				0,06	0,04	0,00
	PARTCOM				0,07	0,11	0,08
	SGENDER	0,15	0,17	0,14	0,15	0,16	0,13
	R ² (adj.)	0,03	0,05	0,04	0,04	0,07	0,05
England	PARTSCHL	0,14	0,19	0,12	0,11	0,18	0,12
	EUIDENT	0,07	0,03	-0,01	0,06	0,04	-0,01
	EUPART				0,00	-0,02	-0,01
	PARTCOM				0,08	0,04	0,00
	SGENDER	0,08	0,10	0,20	0,08	0,10	0,20
	R ² (adj.)	0,03	0,05	0,06	0,04	0,05	0,06

Results in red color are not significant at the 95% level

Results in black color are significant at the 95% level:

	>0,10
	0,05-0,10

Country	NISB	Model A (3 Predictors)			Model B (5 Predictors)		
		Low	Medium	High	Low	Medium	High
Estonia	PARTSCHL	-0,01	0,09	0,08	-0,02	0,11	0,07
	EUIDENT	0,13	0,20	0,18	0,13	0,20	0,17
	EUPART				0,02	0,00	0,03
	PARTCOM				0,01	-0,04	0,01
	SGENDER	0,10	0,16	0,14	0,09	0,16	0,13
	R ² (adj.)	0,02	0,08	0,06	0,02	0,08	0,06
Finland	PARTSCHL	0,09	0,07	0,13	0,10	0,06	0,14
	EUIDENT	0,24	0,13	0,08	0,24	0,12	0,08
	EUPART				-0,03	0,07	0,03
	PARTCOM				-0,02	-0,03	-0,07
	SGENDER	0,27	0,28	0,19	0,27	0,28	0,20
	R ² (adj.)	0,15	0,10	0,06	0,15	0,10	0,07
Greece	PARTSCHL	0,15	0,08	0,08	0,19	0,10	0,11
	EUIDENT	0,14	0,11	0,07	0,16	0,12	0,08
	EUPART				-0,16	-0,07	-0,08
	PARTCOM				-0,05	-0,04	-0,04
	SGENDER	0,17	0,16	0,18	0,16	0,16	0,16
	R ² (adj.)	0,08	0,05	0,04	0,11	0,06	0,05
Ireland	PARTSCHL	0,12	0,08	0,13	0,10	0,09	0,13
	EUIDENT	0,20	0,14	0,02	0,20	0,15	0,03
	EUPART				0,03	-0,08	-0,04
	PARTCOM				0,03	0,01	0,04
	SGENDER	0,03	0,15	0,20	0,03	0,15	0,20
	R ² (adj.)	0,06	0,05	0,07	0,06	0,05	0,07
Italy	PARTSCHL	0,08	0,08	0,13	0,07	0,07	0,15
	EUIDENT	0,11	0,07	0,05	0,12	0,07	0,06
	EUPART				0,00	-0,02	-0,04
	PARTCOM				0,05	0,06	-0,01
	SGENDER	0,15	0,10	0,04	0,15	0,10	0,04
	R ² (adj.)	0,04	0,02	0,02	0,05	0,02	0,03
Latvia	PARTSCHL	0,09	0,03	0,07	0,14	0,02	0,07
	EUIDENT	0,05	0,16	0,19	0,06	0,16	0,21
	EUPART				-0,05	-0,05	-0,10
	PARTCOM				-0,11	0,03	0,05
	SGENDER	-0,02	0,07	0,12	-0,03	0,07	0,13
	R ² (adj.)	0,01	0,03	0,06	0,02	0,03	0,07
Liechtenstein	PARTSCHL	0,12	0,11	0,14	0,11	0,05	0,20
	EUIDENT	0,18	0,04	0,05	0,18	0,05	0,07
	EUPART				-0,05	0,08	0,11
	PARTCOM				0,04	0,07	-0,16
	SGENDER	0,02	0,12	-0,02	0,03	0,11	0,00
	R ² (adj.)	-0,01	0,02	-0,02	-0,05	0,02	-0,02
Lithuania	PARTSCHL	0,07	0,06	0,01	0,09	0,05	0,00
	EUIDENT	0,23	0,15	0,21	0,23	0,16	0,21
	EUPART				0,06	0,00	-0,06
	PARTCOM				-0,10	0,00	0,07
	SGENDER	0,02	0,15	0,20	0,02	0,15	0,21
	R ² (adj.)	0,06	0,05	0,09	0,07	0,05	0,09

Results in red color are not significant at the 95% level

Results in black color are significant at the 95% level:

	>0,10
	0,05-0,10

Country	NISB	Model A (3 Predictors)			Model B (5 Predictors)		
		Low	Medium	High	Low	Medium	High
Luxembourg	PARTSCHL	0,07	0,05	0,12	0,09	0,06	0,10
	EUIDENT	0,24	0,15	0,10	0,24	0,14	0,10
	EUPART				-0,03	0,04	0,01
	PARTCOM				-0,04	-0,06	0,02
	SGENDER	0,03	0,17	0,14	0,03	0,18	0,14
	R ² (adj.)	0,07	0,05	0,04	0,06	0,05	0,04
Malta	PARTSCHL	0,09	0,04	0,11	0,09	0,05	0,09
	EUIDENT	0,24	0,22	0,03	0,22	0,24	0,01
	EUPART				0,09	-0,11	0,08
	PARTCOM				-0,06	0,04	0,01
	SGENDER	0,04	0,14	0,16	0,04	0,13	0,17
	R ² (adj.)	0,06	0,07	0,03	0,07	0,08	0,04
Poland	PARTSCHL	0,10	0,10	0,19	0,13	0,10	0,19
	EUIDENT	0,27	0,19	0,16	0,26	0,19	0,16
	EUPART				0,08	-0,02	-0,03
	PARTCOM				-0,17	0,01	0,02
	SGENDER	0,09	0,15	0,11	0,12	0,15	0,11
	R ² (adj.)	0,09	0,08	0,09	0,12	0,08	0,09
Slovak Republic	PARTSCHL	0,10	0,04	0,07	0,13	0,04	0,07
	EUIDENT	0,24	0,22	0,13	0,24	0,22	0,12
	EUPART				-0,07	0,03	0,06
	PARTCOM				-0,05	-0,02	-0,05
	SGENDER	0,10	0,13	0,15	0,10	0,13	0,15
	R ² (adj.)	0,08	0,07	0,04	0,08	0,07	0,04
Slovenia	PARTSCHL	0,05	0,12	0,18	0,06	0,14	0,20
	EUIDENT	0,23	0,17	0,14	0,23	0,16	0,14
	EUPART				0,02	0,06	0,03
	PARTCOM				-0,04	-0,10	-0,08
	SGENDER	0,10	0,15	0,16	0,11	0,16	0,16
	R ² (adj.)	0,06	0,07	0,09	0,06	0,08	0,10
Spain	PARTSCHL	0,01	0,06	0,08	0,05	0,06	0,09
	EUIDENT	0,17	0,08	-0,02	0,18	0,08	-0,02
	EUPART				-0,11	-0,03	0,01
	PARTCOM				-0,07	0,02	-0,06
	SGENDER	0,07	0,11	0,08	0,06	0,11	0,08
	R ² (adj.)	0,03	0,02	0,01	0,05	0,02	0,02
Sweden	PARTSCHL	0,22	0,17	0,12	0,25	0,17	0,15
	EUIDENT	0,06	0,08	0,04	0,08	0,08	0,04
	EUPART				-0,05	0,00	-0,04
	PARTCOM				-0,07	-0,02	-0,07
	SGENDER	0,17	0,18	0,27	0,17	0,18	0,27
	R ² (adj.)	0,09	0,08	0,09	0,09	0,08	0,09
Switzerland	PARTSCHL	0,18	0,10	0,05	0,19	0,08	0,06
	EUIDENT	0,29	0,06	0,00	0,29	0,05	0,00
	EUPART				-0,01	0,05	-0,06
	PARTCOM				-0,04	0,04	0,02
	SGENDER	0,12	0,11	0,15	0,12	0,11	0,14
	R ² (adj.)	0,13	0,03	0,03	0,13	0,03	0,03

Results in red color are not significant at the 95% level

Results in black color are significant at the 95% level:

	>0,10
	0,05-0,10

***Native Student Attitudes towards Equal Rights for Immigrants.
A Study in 18 European Countries***

The present study investigates the determinants of native student attitudes towards equal rights for immigrants giving particular attention to the effect of immigrant share in the classroom and the extent to which it can be generalized across country contexts. The contribution sheds some new light on the validity of the contact hypothesis, which suggests that mixing native and immigrant students in schools and classrooms can contribute to higher levels of support for immigrants' rights. The analyses were conducted across 18 countries participating to the ICCS survey in 2009. For the analyses we applied a three-level multilevel model controlling for individual, classroom, and country characteristics. We tested a random slope for immigrant share in the classroom at country level, and we modelled both linear and quadratic effects of immigrant share. The overall pattern suggests that in most countries there is a small positive effect of immigrant share, which does not change dramatically in direction or size at higher immigrant share levels.

Chapter 2: NATIVE STUDENT ATTITUDES TOWARDS EQUAL RIGHTS FOR IMMIGRANTS. A STUDY IN 18 EUROPEAN COUNTRIES*

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1. Introduction

The disengagement of youth from politics as well as increasing levels of social and ethnic tensions have suggested that support for civic society and democratic political institutions is under pressure. To address the decline of engagement and participation among citizens, many countries introduced programs for civic education or intensified already existing educational programs in this field (Birzea, 2003). Schools are required to prepare students for becoming ‘active and responsible citizens’ (Eurydice, 2005). An important aspect of civic and citizenship education concerns the attitude of students towards other social and cultural groups in society. Given the increased number of immigrants in most European societies and the negative views of the native population on immigrants’ impact in most European societies (cf. Semyonov, Rajiman, Gorodzeisky, 2008), one of the current aims of education for citizenship in Europe is to promote tolerance towards people from other cultures such as immigrants (Eurydice, 2005). Putnam (2000) refers in this respect to a distinction between ‘bridging social capital’ in which bonds are formed across diverse social groups, and ‘bonding social capital’ that only establishes relationships within relatively homogenous groups. According to Putnam, bonding may have a positive effect for those

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within a particular group, but it is regarded as having a negative effect for society as a whole. Bridging social capital, on the other hand, implies intercultural or interethnic relationships, which may raise mutual understanding – thereby establishing a foundation for social cohesion (see also Mascherini, Vidoni, Manca, 2010).

Schools may impact student's attitudes towards immigrants, as well as other democratic attitudes, along different lines. First, there is a documented belief that schools can help students to develop positive attitudes towards immigrants' rights through the formal and informal experiences they provide. Accordingly, schools can promote students' support for the rights of immigrants by enabling them with the required levels of civic knowledge for understanding and respecting different others (Galston, 2001; Elchardus, Roggemans, Op de Beeck, 2009; Popkin, Dimock, 2000). Schools may foster these attitudes by creating an open academic climate in which students are encouraged to be actively engaged (Barber, Torney-Purta, Fenelly, 2010; Kokkonen, Esaiasson, Gilljam, 2010; Scheerens, 2009; Torney-Purta, Wilkenfeld, Barber 2008). An open classroom climate can stimulate students to discuss issues of equal rights and tolerance, and can help students understanding the importance and advantages of democratic values and practices (Perliger, Canetti-Nisim, Pedahzur, 2006). Thus, it may have a positive effect on the assimilation of these values by students.

Second, educational researchers often focus on the potential influence of classroom ethnic composition when investigating potential determinants of student's attitudes towards immigrants. From this perspective, two contrasting lines of reasoning are found in the literature. One perspective is based on the ethnic competition theory (see also Janmaat, 2012; Kokkonen et al. 2010; Vervoort, Scholte, Scheepers, 2011) which emphasizes the importance of the relative size of the minority group and indicates that student's attitudes towards immigrants could be more favorable in homogeneous groups. Accordingly, the larger the size of the immigrant group, the more the members of the majority group feels threatened and will react with increasing negative attitudes towards the out-group.

In contrast, based on Allport's (1954) contact hypothesis, educational researchers often assume that mixing native and immigrant students in schools and classrooms can contribute to higher levels of tolerance and support for immigrants' rights (e.g. Hyland, 2006; Janmaat, 2012; Kokkonen et al. 2010; van Geel, Vedder, 2010). Allport (1954) argued that direct contact between members of different ethnic groups will result in

positive intergroup experiences, which will eventually generalize to the entire out-group. These positive attitudes will develop, according to Allport, in case of an equal status of the groups in the situation, common goals, intergroup cooperation and the support of authorities, law or custom. Half a century of research later, Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) conducted an extensive meta-analysis, which revealed a weak positive effect on intergroup attitudes across different outcomes, national settings and out-groups. They also found that positive attitudes towards the specific out-group generalized to the entire out-group. Even though a result of the meta-analysis was that the optimal contact conditions specified by Allport were not essential but rather facilitated positive effects, Pettigrew, Tropp, Wagner and Christ (2011) emphasize the special importance of cross-group friendship in promoting positive contact effects and note that friendships are likely to invoke many of the optimal conditions specified by Allport.

In classroom settings, as Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) argue, the conditions for positive contact between students from different origins seem to be at place. In classrooms students regularly encounter for a whole year, and often even for several years (see also Kokkonen et al. 2010; van Geel, Vedder, 2010). Students are supposed to interact on the basis of equality, sharing the common goals of learning, cooperating on different tasks and receiving support from authority figures such as teachers. Therefore, when native students interact with their immigrant peers in the classroom, they are likely to develop positive attitudes towards them from which they could generalize to form their attitudes towards immigrants in general.

However, empirical studies addressing positive intercultural attitudes in educational settings show inconsistent findings. Some studies found a positive relationship between mixed schools or classrooms, and student's attitudes towards immigrants (Janmaat 2012; van Geel, Vedder, 2010). Others found no such relationship across and within countries (Barber et al. 2010; Kokkonen et al., 2010) or even a negative one (Vervoort et al., 2011). These studies illustrate that the contact established in the classroom might not be necessarily sufficient for promoting positive attitudes towards immigrants. A recent longitudinal study in the Netherlands reveals that contact between native and other ethnic students may indeed lead to either positive or negative attitudes towards the out-group, depending on whether the interpersonal relationship established between the groups is positive or negative. This finding indicates that the context of the classroom does not

necessarily provide the conditions for the development of positive interpersonal relationships, and therefore for positive attitudes towards immigrants. Stark (2011) concludes that positive effects, nevertheless, are to be achieved when practitioners who work in mixed schools give particular attention to the specific context in which contact takes place by creating the right opportunities for the development of positive interpersonal relationships. This can be accomplished, according to Stark, by designing classroom experiences in which students can truly cooperate in order to achieve shared goals while having similar interests and opinions.

Next to that, Steinberg and Morris (2001) note that the way students come to like and interact with peers can be influenced by schools only to a certain extent. The ways in which they relate with their peers can be dependent on other factors which might be difficult to influence and not necessarily under the control of schools such as personality characteristics and preferences (Stark 2011) and the influence of family, community and other peers outside the school (Steinberg, Morris, 2001). Peer influence, next to the type of interpersonal relationships between students from different groups (Pettigrew et al., 2011; Stark, 2011) might explain why contact between students from different cultural groups does not consistently result in demoting prejudice. Moreover, educational programs and practices which are implemented in mixed classrooms are often designed at a national level. The overall effect of immigrant share in the classroom across schools within specific educational contexts might, therefore, be dependent on a unique configuration of national conditions (Janmaat, 2012). National educational policies and their implementation as well as other country contextual characteristics can have an impact on the quality of interpersonal relationships between native and immigrant students. Therefore, we could not only expect differences in the impact of immigrant share on students' support for immigrant rights between schools and classrooms within national settings but also differences between educational systems.

Nevertheless, as mixing native and immigrant students in schools and classrooms is often considered to be a beneficial policy measure of particular importance (Hyland, 2006), the question still largely remains to what extent mixed classrooms promote positive student attitudes towards immigrants and whether the expected positive effects might be reversed when the immigrant group approaches the numerical majority. This study will address this issue by examining the effect of immigrant share in the classroom on native student

attitudes towards immigrants across and within national contexts. For that purpose, the following research questions were formulated: (1) Does the proportion of immigrant classmates positively relate to native student attitudes towards immigrant rights across countries, after controlling for other student, classroom, and country determinants? (2) Would there be an overall positive effect, or are the strength, the direction, and the shape of the relationship different depending on the country?

In addressing these questions we will take into account other factors which might impact native student attitudes towards immigrants' rights. At the individual student level, the influence of civic knowledge, gender, educational expectations and students' socioeconomic status is considered. Based on previous findings female students, students with more civic knowledge, higher educational expectations and a higher socioeconomic status tend to have more favorable attitudes toward immigrants (Barber et al., 2010; Galston, 2001; Elchardus et al., 2009; Popkin, Dimock, 2000). Moreover, classroom level predictors such as the presence of a democratic classroom climate, the average socioeconomic status and average expected educational attainment are controlled for (see Barber et al., 2010), as well as contextual country variables which were found to be related to adolescents and young adults' attitudes towards immigrants: economic conditions (GDP), size of the out-group (immigrants in society) and government policies regarding immigrants (Semyonov et al., 2008). Adolescents' attitudes towards immigrants are expected to be influenced by the way immigrants are perceived in society, and more advantageous economic conditions, more positive migration policies and lower number of immigrants might be related to student's attitudes towards immigrants.

2. Method

2.1. Sample

For this study data from the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) were used. This study, which was carried out in 2009, measures Grade 8 (14-year-olds) students' citizenship competences from 38 countries. The sampling procedure employed by IEA was a two-stage stratified cluster design (Schulz, Ainley, Fraillon, Kerr, Losito, 2010). First, in each country approximately 150 schools were sampled using a probability proportional to size. Second, only one intact class was randomly sampled from each selected school. All students attending the sampled class were selected to participate in the study.

In order to have valid information on all variables of interest as well as to make sure that a reasonable amount of immigrant students were attending at least a quarter of all classrooms in each country, the following 18 European countries were selected: Austria, Belgium (Flanders), Cyprus, Denmark, England, Estonia, Finland, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Lithuania, Luxembourg, The Netherlands, Norway, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, and Switzerland.

The number of schools and students used for this study across these 18 countries was 2503 schools and 49350 students. The number of schools and students participating in each country are reported in Table 1. These final numbers of schools and students were obtained after data cleaning which implied deleting the missing information on the dependent variable as well as the categorical variable indicating whether the student is native or a first or second generation immigrant. Moreover, since our study is concerned with the effect of immigrant share in the classroom on native student attitudes towards equal rights for immigrants, we excluded the number of students with an immigration background.

Table 2-1 Sample characteristics

Country	N = Classrooms			N = Students
	Total	Only Native	Mixed*	(native)
AUT	134	18	116	2619
BFL	151	59	92	2575
CHE	155	15	140	2091
CYP	68	19	49	2741
DNK	192	74	118	3848
ENG	124	37	87	2372
ESP	148	43	105	2871
EST	138	75	63	2482
FIN	176	132	44	3140
GRC	153	34	119	2717
IRL	144	32	112	2823
ITA	172	77	95	3040
LTU	196	135	61	3652
LUX	31	0	31	2825
NLD	66	14	52	1667
NOR	129	43	86	2503
SVN	163	53	110	2687
SWE	163	46	117	2697
Total	2503	906	1597	49350

Note. * Number of classrooms containing at least 1 immigrant student

2.2. Variables

From the ICCS dataset, information is selected that covers student, country and classroom variables. Descriptive statistics for all variables are presented in Table 2. For more extensive information about the construction and psychometric properties of the scales, the reader is referred to the ICCS Assessment Framework (Schulz, Fraillon, Ainley, Losito, Kerr, 2008), the International ICCS Report (Schulz et al. 2010) and the ICCS Technical Report (Schulz, Ainley, Fraillon, 2011). Information on country characteristics are derived from country comparisons conducted by the World Bank, the US Department of State (CIA World Factbook), and the British Council.

Table 2-2 Descriptive statistics for all variables

	Min	Max	Mean	SD
Attitudes towards equal rights for immigrants	18.48	68.89	48.44	9.99
Civic knowledge	73.14	887.01	527.11	95.12
Gender(girl=1)	.00	1.00	.51	.50
Expected further education	.00	4.00	3.02	1.01
SES	-5.01	3.31	.10	.97
% of immigrants in the country	3.88	34.25	12.43	7.13
GDP per capita in US \$ (z-score)	-.96	1.87	-.07	.61
Migrant integration policy index	35.00	83.00	55.19	12.24
Classroom average SES	-1.56	1.86	.05	.48
Classroom average expected further education	1.20	4.00	3.01	.45
Open climate for expressing opinions and open discussion	33.77	69.70	50.54	4.06
Immigrant share in the classroom	.00	.97	.10	.13

Note. N:Country = 18; N:Classroom=2503; N:Student=49350

Student's attitudes towards equal rights for immigrants are measured using five items. Students were required to indicate on a 4-point scale (ranging from “strongly agree” to “strongly disagree”) their level of agreement with the following statements: a) immigrants should have the opportunity to continue speaking their own language, b) immigrant children should have the same opportunities for education that other children in the country have, c) immigrants who live in a country for several years should have the opportunity to vote in elections, d) immigrants should have the opportunity to continue their own customs and lifestyle and e) immigrants should have all the same rights that everyone else in the country has. The corresponding scale (country reliabilities Cronbach's alpha's ranging from .74 to

.89 among the selected countries) was re-coded by the IEA experts so that students with higher scores on this scale were those who agreed that immigrants should have equal rights.

Immigrant share in the classroom is calculated by dividing the number of (first and second generation) immigrant students in the classroom by the total class size. As indicated in Table 2, the proportion of immigrant classmates ranged from 0 to .97 across the 18 countries included in the analysis, with a mean of .10 (SD = .13).

Control variables - student level:

Student's civic knowledge. Civic knowledge is assessed using a 79 item test (median test country reliabilities Cronbach's alpha's ranging from .81 to .87 among the selected countries) which covered four content domains: civic society and systems, civic principles, civic participation, and civic identities. One-quarter of the test items concerned factual knowledge of civics and citizenship, and the remaining three-quarter covered civic reasoning and analyzing. The scale reflects "progression from being able to deal with concrete, familiar, and mechanistic elements of civics and citizenship through to understanding the wider policy climate and institutional processes that determine the shape of civic communities" (Schulz et al. 2011, 16). Higher scores on the scale reflect higher levels of civic knowledge. Given that the ICCS study followed a matrix-sampling design, where individual students only respond to a set of items obtained from the main pool of items, five plausible values for each student's proficiency level were estimated and provided. For our analysis only the first plausible value was used.

Student *gender* was measured by an indicator taking the value of 1 for girls and 0 for boys.

Student expectations of further education are measured by an item asking the student to indicate which level of education he or she expects to achieve according to the ISCED classification: 0 = no completion of ISCED 2, 1 = completion of ISCED 2 (lower secondary), 2 = completion of ISCED 3 (upper secondary), 3 = completion of ISCED 4 (non-tertiary post-secondary) or ISCED 5B (vocational tertiary), 4 = completion of ISCED 5A (theoretically oriented tertiary) or ISCED 6 (post graduate).

Students' socioeconomic background is measured by an index derived from the following three indices: highest occupational status of parents, highest educational level of parents in approximate years of education according to the ISCED classification, and the approximate number of books at home. The corresponding scale (country reliabilities

Cronbach's alpha ranging from .52 to .73 among the selected countries) was re-coded (z-scores) with a mean of 0 and a standard deviation of 1. A higher score on this scale represents a student's higher socioeconomic status.

Control variables – country level:

Immigrant share in the country is determined using the World Bank indicator percentage of immigrants out of the total population of that country as it was recorded in 2010. As Table 2 shows, values on this indicator ranged from 3.88 to 34.25 across the 18 countries included in the analysis, with a mean of 12.43 (SD = 7.13).

GDP per capita in US dollars is an indicator of how prosperous a country feels to each of its citizens. The source of information for this indicator was the CIA World Factbook of the US Department of State. The scores was re-coded (z-scores) and the values on this variable range from -.96 to 1.87 with a mean of -.07 (SD = .61).

Information on the policies on immigration in each country is captured by the *migrant integration policy index (MIPEX)* 2010, an indicator developed by the British Council and the Migration Policy Group. MIPEX measures policies that promote integration in European societies. In each country, independent scholars and practitioners in migration law, education and anti-discrimination provided information on each of the 148 policy indicators MIPEX in seven policy areas (Labor Market Mobility, Family Reunion, Education, Political Participation, Long-term Residence, Access to Nationality and Anti-discrimination) based on the country's publicly available documents as of May 2010. The overall indicator takes values between 0 and 100 (0 = critically unfavorable; 1-20 = unfavorable; 21-40 = slightly unfavorable; 41-59 = halfway favorable; 60-79 = slightly favorable, and 80-100 = favorable). In the countries included in our analysis, values on the overall indicator range from 35 to 83 (Mean = 55.19; SD=12.24).

Control variables – classroom level:

At the classroom level, we control for other elements of classroom composition such as *classroom average socioeconomic status* and *classroom average expected further education* which are aggregated measures (classroom means) based on students' responses (see description of individual variables, above).

Moreover, we control for the presence of an *open classroom climate* for expressing opinions and open discussion. This is an aggregated (average) measure based on students' responses. Students could indicate on a 4-point scales (ranging from "never" to "often") how frequently they thought political and social issues were discussed during regular lessons. Higher values on the corresponding scale (country reliabilities Cronbach's alpha ranging from .66 to .81 among the selected countries) reflect perceptions of higher levels of classroom discussion of political and social issues.

Missing values on all variables were substituted with the average at the next higher level for the continuous variables, and imputed randomly for the categorical variables (gender). The effect of the imputation was tested as a final step in the data analysis.

3. Data Analysis Strategy

As indicated previously, the ICCS sampling procedure consisted of sampling one intact class from each of the selected schools and selecting all students attending the sampled class to participate in the study. Therefore, the data has a three-level structure with students being nested in schools/classrooms and schools/classrooms being nested in educational systems. Taking this into account, we applied multilevel regression analysis (Snijders and Bosker, 2011) using the MLwiN software (Rasbash, Steele, Browne, Goldstein, 2009). Guided by the research questions, we followed a forward stepwise model specification procedure.

We analyzed whether immigrant share in the classroom explains differences across countries in native student attitudes towards equal rights for immigrants. For that purpose, the effect of immigrant share in the classroom has been controlled for other relevant student, classroom and contextual country characteristics in a series of steps. In the first step, an empty model with the specified levels was estimated. In a subsequent step, we controlled for different sets of variables: student characteristics, classroom characteristics and contextual country characteristics. In a third step we tested the effects of the main explanatory variable. Addressing our second research question, we tested in a fourth step a random slope for immigrant share in the classroom at country level. In a last step, we modelled the non-linear effect of immigrants share by estimating fixed and quadratic effects and further tested whether the effects differ between countries. The country parameters, produced in MLwiN, were imported in SPSS for further descriptive analysis.

4. Results

The relationship between immigrant share and native student attitudes towards equal rights for immigrants.

Table 3 presents the steps taken in the multilevel analysis to estimate the effect of immigrant share in the classroom on native student attitudes towards equal rights for immigrants across and within countries.

Table 2-3 Results of multilevel analysis: The relationship between immigrant share in the classroom and native student attitudes toward equal rights for immigrants.

	Model 0 – Empty		Model 1 – Control variables		Model 2 – Effect of immigrant share		Model 3 – Radom slope immigrant share	
Fixed Part	Par.	SE.	Par.	SE.	Par.	SE.	Par.	SE.
Constant	48.258	0.448	47.039	0.500	46.991	0.506	47.014	0.522
<i>Student characteristics</i>								
Civic knowledge			0.021	0.002***	0.021	0.002***	0.021	0.002***
Gender(girl=1)			2.693	0.232***	2.685	0.232***	2.688	0.232***
Expected further education(GMC)			0.185	0.056**	0.193	0.055***	0.192	0.056**
SES (GMC)			0.369	0.086***	0.349	0.085***	0.354	0.084***
<i>Country characteristics</i>								
% of immigrants in the country			0.055	0.113	0.015	0.117	0.016	0.116
GDP per capita			-0.308	1.357	-0.500	1.374	-0.566	1.373
Migrant integration policy			-0.032	0.052	-0.032	0.052	-0.033	0.053
<i>Classroom characteristics</i>								
Classroom average SES			-0.537	0.297	-0.209	0.381	-0.117	0.347
Classroom average expected further education			0.824	0.400*	0.603	0.422	0.362	0.376
Open climate for expressing opinions and open discussion			0.099	0.041*	0.096	0.037*	0.102	0.035**
Immigrant share					4.869	1.216***	4.502	1.567**
<i>Random effects</i>								
Country level a) intercept	3.527	0.921	3.629	0.760	3.736	0.748	3.982	0.785
b) intercept – slope covariance							-0.385	2.275
c) slope immigrant share							34.515	18.327
School level	5.762	0.720	4.569	0.587	4.300	0.597	3.968	0.526
Student level	91.169	3.788	85.336	3.356	85.301	3.359	85.284	3.362
Deviance	364847.309		361377.900		361286.663		361224.3	
			3469.393***		91.253 ***		62.404***	
Deviance difference			(10 df)		(1df)		(2df)	
Variance explained			≈ 7%		≈ 1%			

Note. GMC= group-mean centred; All other continuous variables are grand-mean centred; *** p ≤ .001; **p ≤ .01; *p ≤ .05

The empty model reveals the distribution of variance in attitudes toward equal rights for immigrants across the three levels. The results indicate that there is hardly any variance in native student attitudes towards equal rights for immigrants between classrooms (nearly 6%) and countries (less than 4%). Therefore, in principle, classroom and country context characteristics are unlikely to be strongly related to student's attitudes towards equal rights for immigrants. The largest differences are to be found between students (around 91%) which make it likely that the main determinants of native student attitudes towards equal rights for immigrants are student-related.

In Table 3, Model 1 the estimated effects of the control variables are summarized. Adding control variables to the model significantly increases model fit ($\Delta\chi^2(10) = 3469.393$; $p \leq .001$). In line with previous findings, the analysis reveals that students' civic knowledge, gender, level of expected further education and socioeconomic status are important determinants of their attitudes towards equal rights for immigrants. Together, these student characteristics explain approximately 7% of the variation in their attitudes. Native students with more civic knowledge, higher expectations for their further education, and from families with higher socioeconomic status have a significantly more positive attitude towards the rights of immigrants in their country. Moreover, girls are more inclined than boys to grant immigrants the same rights as native citizens.

Significant classroom determinants are average expectations for further education and classroom climate. Native students, who attend classrooms in which pupils have, on average, higher expectations for their further education and students who belong to a classroom in which, on average, higher opportunities for expressing opinions and open discussion are perceived, also tend to be more positive towards immigrants. Furthermore, Model 1 also shows the effects of country characteristics. None of the selected national-level determinants of native student attitudes towards immigrants appears to be significantly related to the dependent variable.

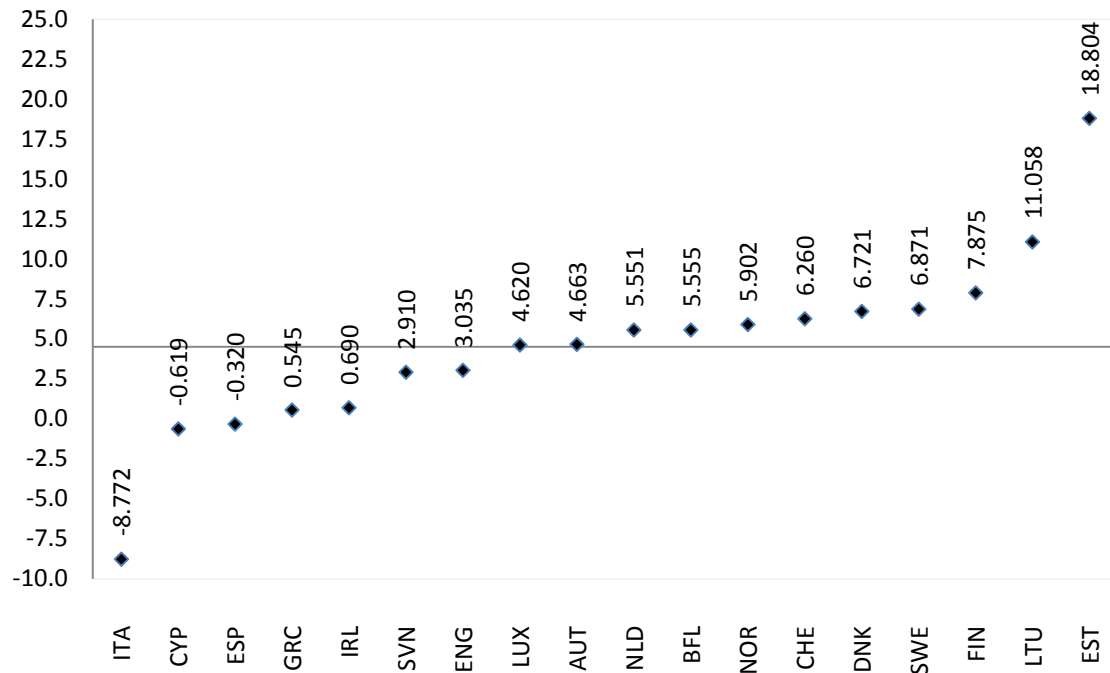
Model 2 shows the relationship between immigrant share in the classroom and native student attitudes towards equal rights for immigrants. Adding the effect of immigrant share significantly improves model fit ($\Delta\chi^2(1) = 91.253$; $p \leq .001$). Across countries, our findings support the assumed positive effect of opportunities for contact between native and immigrant students in classroom settings. Controlling for other determinants of native

students attitudes towards immigrants, the share of immigrant students in a classroom is positively related to native students' attitudes towards immigrants ($\beta = 4.869$; $SE = 1.216$, $p \leq .001$). Hence, across countries, when native students attend a classroom with relatively many immigrant students, they are more likely to advocate equal rights for immigrants. This effect, however, is rather small: when a classroom has 10% more immigrant students, an increase of ($4.869 \times 0.10 =$) 0.487 points is observed, which equals to ($0.487/9.995 =$) 0.049 of a standard deviation for attitudes. Model 2 also reveals that the effects of most control variables tested in Model 1 have a similar direction and magnitude when the effect of immigrant share is added to the model. The only exception is the effect of class average expectations for further education, which is no longer significant in Model 2.

The estimates in Model 2 are obtained assuming that the effect of immigrant share on the attitudes of natives is homogeneous across countries. However, it is likely that the relationship between immigrant share and native student attitudes towards immigrants differs between countries. In Model 3, the size of the effect is allowed to differ between countries. Adding a random slope for the share of immigrants at the country level significantly improves model fit ($\Delta\chi^2(2) = 62.404$; $p \leq .001$). As Model 3 illustrates, the fixed average effect of immigrant share on the attitudes of natives is still positive and statistically significant ($\beta = 4.502$, $SE = 1.567$, $p \leq .01$). Moreover, the random slope standard deviation ($\sqrt{34.515}$) is 5.874, which indicates that the size of the effect varies considerably across countries and the effect of immigrant share in the various countries can be positive as well as negative.

A clear illustration of the differences between countries in the effect of immigrant share is provided by Figure 1. As can be observed from this Figure, the size of the effects overall is small, but countries differ regarding the strength and the direction of the relationship. In Italy, Cyprus, and Spain negative effects are found for immigrant share in the classroom, although these are close to zero in Cyprus and Spain. This latter applies also to Greece and Ireland, although the relationship between immigrant share and students' attitudes towards equal rights for immigrants on average is positive. In Slovenia and England the effect is clearly positive, but slightly below average, whereas it is on average in Luxembourg and Austria, and slightly above average in Belgium (Flanders), The Netherlands, and Norway. The effect is clearly above average in Switzerland, Denmark, Sweden, and Finland, and much higher than average in Lithuania and Estonia.

Figure 2-1 Effect of immigrant share by country



The analysis so far assumed a linear effect of immigrant share on student's attitudes towards immigrants. It is, however, likely that the data could be better described by a model in which immigrant share has a non-linear effect.

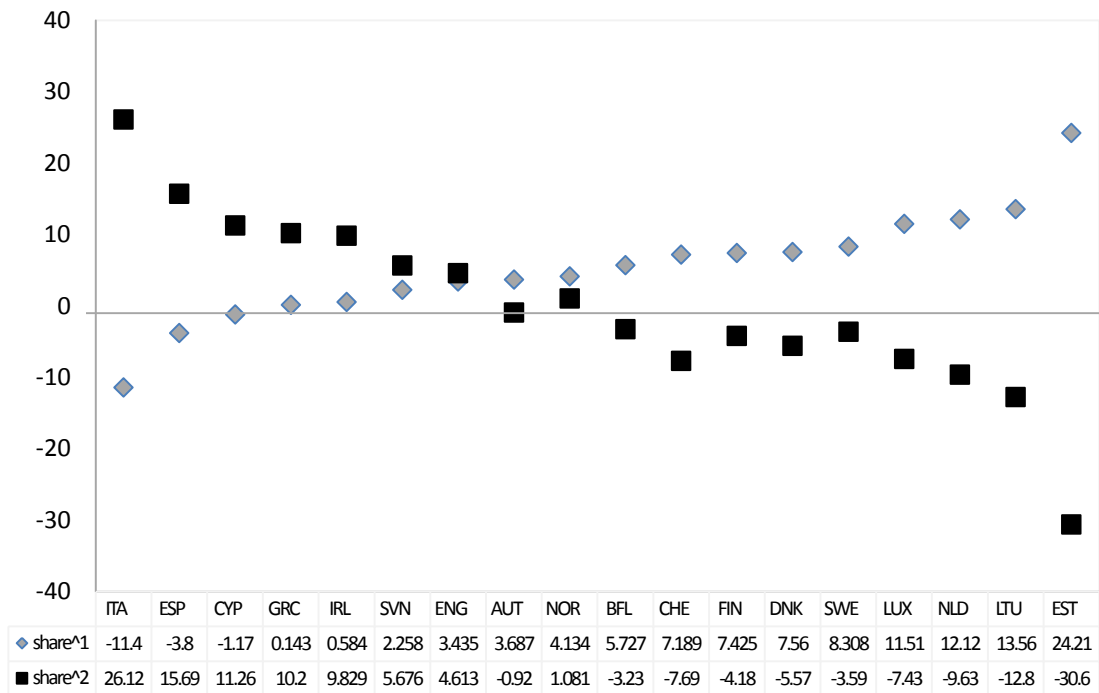
As illustrated in Table 4 we tested this assumption across countries by estimating both linear and quadratic effects of immigrant share. For reasons of simplicity, Table 4 only reports the effects of immigrant share and the random part of the model. These coefficients are estimated while controlling for all other variables (see Table 3, Model 1). As Model 2 in Table 4, shows, adding the linear and quadratic terms significantly improves model fit ($\Delta\chi^2(2) = 91.35$; $p \leq .001$). Across countries, only the linear effect of immigrant share shows a statistically positive relationship with the dependent variable ($\beta = 4.681$, $SE = 0.787$, $p \leq .001$). However, Models 3 and 4 illustrate that the effect of both terms varies significantly across countries. The country specific effects are illustrated in Figure 2.

Table 2-4 Results of multilevel analysis: The curvilinear relationship between immigrant share in the classroom and native student attitudes toward equal rights for immigrants

	Model 2 – Linear & quadratic effects of immigrant share		Model 3 - Radom slope immigrant share^1		Model 4 - Radom slope immigrant share^2	
	Par.	S.E.	Par.	S.E.	Par.	S.E.
Fixed Part						
Constant	46.980	0.465	47.027	0.479	46.957	0.464
Immigrant share^1	4.681	0.787***	4.786	1.618**	5.457	2.098**
Immigrant share^2	0.627	2.002	-1.024	2.187	-0.259	3.534
Random Part						
Country a) intercept	3.737	1.269	3.976	1.357	3.718	1.277
b) intercept – slope (Immigrant share^1) covariance			-0.403	3.019	-0.143	4.095
c) slope Immigrant share^1			34.883	13.386	67.445	26.276
d) intercept – slope (Immigrant share^2) covariance					2.183	6.889
e) Immigrant share^1 - Immigrant share^2 covariance					-106.801	43.302
f) slope Immigrant share^2					162.375	73.871
School level intercept	4.299	0.255	3.967	0.245	3.945	0.245
Student level intercept	85.301	0.557	85.284	0.556	85.287	0.556
Deviance	361286.57		361224		361210.49	
Deviance difference	91.350(2df)***		62.525(2df)***		13.556(2df)**	

Note. Model controlled for all other variables (see Table 3, Model 1); *** $p \leq .001$; ** $p \leq .01$;

Figure 2-2 Linear and quadratic effects of immigrant share by country



The overall pattern in Figure 2 suggests that in most countries there is a small positive effect of immigrant share which does not change dramatically in direction or size with relatively higher numbers of immigrants in the classroom. However, some countries differ significantly from this overall pattern. One extreme is Italy, in which immigrant share in the classroom is negatively related to native student attitudes towards immigrants at lower share levels while it becomes a positive predictor at higher share levels. In Estonia an opposite trend seems to be apparent in which immigrant share in the classroom is positively related to native student attitudes towards immigrants at lower share levels while it becomes a negative predictor at higher share levels.

5. Conclusion and Discussion

The present study investigated the determinants of native student attitudes towards equal rights for immigrants giving particular attention to the effect of immigrant share in the classroom and the extent to which it can be generalized across countries.

Our findings indicate that, even though there is some variation in native student attitudes toward equal rights for immigrants both across countries and across classrooms within countries, the largest differences are to be found between students. Hence, these results

suggest that the determinants of native student attitudes are mainly student-related, while classroom and country characteristics are likely to have only modest effects. Variations in the attitudes of native students towards equal rights for immigrants were found to be related to individual and classroom characteristics, but we could not establish the extent to which the variation across countries can be attributed to country characteristics. Regarding individual determinants, our findings indicated that the more students know about the wider policy climate, institutional processes and so on, the more positive their attitudes towards immigrant rights. Moreover, positive attitudes are more likely to be held by girls, by students with higher socioeconomic status, and by students with high expectations for their further education. These findings are in line with the literature on citizenship education as well as with other studies on young adult attitudes towards immigrants (Barber. et al. 2010; Galston 2001; Elchardus et al. 2009; Popkin, Dimock 2000; Janmaat 2012; van Geel, Vedder 2010).

With respect to classroom characteristics, this study revealed that an open classroom climate could be an important asset if schools want to create right conditions for the development of positive attitudes towards immigrants. On the other hand, aggregated classroom characteristics capturing school composition tend to be statistically insignificant with the exception of immigrant share in the classroom. Indeed, in our analysis conducted across countries, the immigrant share in the classroom proved to be one of the few classroom determinants of native student attitudes towards equal rights for immigrants. Overall, our results confirm the assumption that having the opportunity to interact with more non-native peers could lead to have a more positive attitude among native students towards immigrants in general. The study, thus, overall supports Allport's (1954) contact hypothesis. Moreover, across countries, this relationship does not change dramatically in direction or size at higher immigrant share levels.

However, our country specific analyses revealed considerable variation between countries in the direction, the strength, and the shape of the relationship between immigrant share and native student attitudes towards equal rights for immigrants. When assuming a linear relationship, the study revealed that, while the effects are positive for a wide majority of countries, in some countries the effects are negligible or even negative. This, however, does not imply that the contact hypothesis might not hold for these countries. Rather, these findings indicate that one cannot take for granted that the opportunity for contact in

classroom settings is enough to foster positive attitudes towards immigrants. Conditions for meaningful contact, like an equal status of native and immigrant students, might not be ensured in schools within these countries. This requires other individual and context specific factors to be investigated.

Moreover, our study indicated that, at least in some countries, the relationship between immigrant share and student's attitudes towards immigrants is not necessarily linear. In most countries an increase of immigrant students in the classroom seems to maintain a small positive effect, although the presence of relatively large shares of immigrant students tends to reduce the size of this effect. However, more complex patterns emerge for countries like Italy and Estonia. Our findings suggest that in these two countries the relationship between immigrant share and student attitudes is clearly curvilinear. These results could indicate that the inclusion of immigrant students could create a critical mass igniting different dynamics in the way students interact and form their attitudes.

Although in Italy there is a negative linear effect of immigrant share in the classroom on native student attitudes towards immigrants' rights, the quadratic effect of the variable is strong and positive, indicating that the linear negative effect tends to wipe out at larger shares of immigrants in the classroom, and in this sense the Italian example shows further support for the contact hypothesis. In contrast, the case of Estonia shows the opposite with strong positive effects rapidly decreasing at higher numbers of immigrants in the classroom.

These findings could be the result of an effect of large numbers of immigrant peers that might either result in more contact and more understanding, or in feelings of alienation. However, an alternative explanation might be that schools with relatively high number of immigrant students might differ from schools with only few immigrant students. In large cities, for example, probably larger numbers of immigrants are found than in rural areas. Similarly, the period and home country of immigrants might differ between urban and rural regions. To determine whether any differences in number and nature of immigrant students across regions or between urban and rural areas, could explain the positive or negative effects found for large shares of immigrant students requires further research. A second alternative explanation could be related to the sample of schools in these two countries. The estimation of the linear and quadratic terms is not robust with small samples

of schools. Selection effects, then, can have a considerable effect on the coefficients that are found.

Moreover, the cross-sectional nature of our study does not allow for strong causal inference. We assumed that native students in classrooms with high proportions of immigrant students would hold positive attitudes towards immigrants' rights, but the causality could actually flow in the opposite direction. This issue can be addressed by further research by employing longitudinal designs. Second, even though we were able to show that the size and direction of the effect can differ across educational contexts, we cannot show which individual, classroom, and national context characteristics provide the conditions for the development of positive interpersonal relationships between native and immigrants students in the classroom. Our findings show the need for investigating other characteristics, which could account for country variations in the effect of immigrant share. In this respect, further research might require cross-country studies, which could show which country characteristics might influence how students relate to their immigrant peers. The reviewed literature and our findings seem to indicate that student attitudes could be influenced by contextual factors outside school such as the community, the family, and the peers, or by the extent to which educational systems are prepared to deal with immigrant students. For example, the detected negative linear effects in Italy, Spain, and Cyprus could be related to the social tensions ignited by the relative novelty and growing size of the immigration phenomenon in these countries (OECD, 2008). Native student may have preconceptions towards their immigrant peers, and this negative effect would only wipe out in presence of sufficient interaction between natives and immigrants (i.e. the positive quadratic effect). An alternative explanation could underline how the relationships between native and immigrant students could depend on more local influences (Stark 2011) that would only be detected by in-depth country specific analyses.

To conclude, aside from providing overall support for the contact hypothesis across the 18 European countries participating in ICCS 2009, our analysis indicates a number of promising research strands to be followed when investigating native student attitudes towards equal rights for immigrants. First and foremost, the determinants of student attitudes are mainly student-related, and future studies should further explore the relationship between student attitudes and student individual characteristics. Still, some school characteristics do appear to make a difference. Specifically, while most aggregated

classroom characteristics capturing school composition – such as average socioeconomic status – tend to be statistically insignificant, the immigrant share in the classroom consistently shows a relationship with student attitudes, and this dimension should therefore receive further attention. Last but not least, this study also suggests the need of looking at contextual factors outside school such as the community, the family, and the peers, or at the extent to which educational systems are prepared to deal with immigrant students. Although the availability of comparable data for all the dimensions of interest limits the number of countries that can be compared, it would be extremely interesting to extend the analysis to other continents. At the same time, the already mentioned importance of community, family, peer factors and the nature of interpersonal relationships established between students also points to the need of more in-depth analyses at national or infra-national level.

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A question of perspective? Measuring views on equal rights and opportunities among minority groups in European large-scale surveys

Attitudes toward diversity and acceptance of minorities have increasingly become a focus of public attention due to the transition of the European region toward a more diverse society. In recent years, many studies have gathered and presented data on perceptions of tolerance or attitudes toward equal rights for social groups across European countries. Whenever respondents are asked about their views on diversity, tolerance and acceptance with regard to specific social group, it is always important to take into account whether they belong to this particular group or not. However, when studying attitudes towards smaller minority groups, comparing attitudes between majority and minority often becomes problematic due to relatively small sample sizes. This paper will present European data from the IEA Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS 2009) and discuss possibilities for improving the statistical power of this kind of comparisons through oversampling of minority groups in student surveys.

Chapter 3: **A QUESTION OF PERSPECTIVE? MEASURING VIEWS ON EQUAL RIGHTS AND OPPORTUNITIES AMONG MINORITY GROUPS IN EUROPEAN LARGE-SCALE SURVEYS.**

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1. Introduction

ICCS 2009 studied the ways young people are prepared to assume their roles as future citizens in 38 countries, 25 of which were countries that are geographically entirely located in Europe. The study was designed to assess both cognitive as well as affective-behavioural aspects of civic and citizenship (see Schulz, Fraillon, Ainley, Kerr & Losito, 2008). In times of increasing diversity, one important aspect was to measure the perception of social groups, in particular immigrants and ethnic/racial minorities, and students' views about the rights that these groups should have in society.

With its rich database, ICCS 2009 provides an opportunity to review factors influencing student perceptions of equal rights for all ethnic/racial groups in society as well as for immigrants. This paper mainly focuses on the extent to which the students directly concerned by this aspect, like members of ethnic/racial minorities or young people from immigrant families, have different attitudes from those belonging to the majority in society.

The paper will illustrate the association between these variables in bivariate and multivariate analyses and discuss the implications of these results. Furthermore, given that “standard” representative samples tend to often render quite small sub-samples of minority groups with implications for statistical group comparisons, it will also discuss possible options to increase the statistical power of this kind of analyses by adopting specific strategies for sampling.

2. Framework

In most societies, there are different ethnic or racial groups, and positive attitudes toward equal rights and opportunities for all citizens independent of their ethnic or racial origin are

widely regarded as the democratic ideal of emancipation and tolerance (Angvik & von Borries, 1997; Hahn, 1998).

Aspects of equal rights and opportunities for all ethnic or racial groups typically encompass immigrants recently arrived in a country. However, apart from looking at the concept of giving equal rights independently of ethnic origin, there is the question whether people who have recently immigrated should also receive equal rights and opportunities. Research has shown that both economic factors and nationalistic sentiment influenced adult citizens' attitudes toward immigration (Medrano & Koenig, 2005; O'Rourke and Sinnott, 2006). Angvik and von Borries (1997) studied the attitudes of adolescents in 27 countries toward immigration and found that these young people tended to express higher support for educational opportunities than for voting rights.

Both the IEA Civic Education Study (CIVED) in 1999 and IEA Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) in 2009 showed that young people tended to have positive attitudes toward rights for immigrants (Amadeo et al., 2002; Torney-Purta et al., 2001; Schulz et al., 2010). Research findings also suggest that adolescent females tend to hold more positive attitudes toward immigrant rights than adolescent males (Amadeo et al., 2002; Diaz-Veizades, Widaman, Little, & Gibbs, 1995; Schulz et al., 2010; Torney-Purta et al., 2001; Toth, 1995; Watts, 1996; Westin, 1998).

The ICCS 2009 contextual framework posits the individual students and their cognitive or affective-behavioural learning outcomes as influenced by antecedent or process-related variables which can be located at the levels of the individual, their home background, their school or the wider community, which includes contexts ranging from the local community to the national or supra-national context (Schulz et al., 2008). With regard to the analysis of perceptions of equal rights, variables related to individual, home and school background are regarded as relevant.

The analyses presented in this paper focus on the influences of the student background as member of a social minority or majority group, on their perceptions of equal rights for all groups in European societies. It will review the extent to which these attitudes differ between young people belonging to minority groups and others. With regard to equal rights for all ethnic/racial groups in society, majority and (one or more) minority groups will be compared, and regarding the rights for immigrants, comparisons will be made between students with and without immigrant background.

To further review the extent to which any association between ethnic/racial or immigrant background and student attitudes could be explained by the influence of other covariates, the paper presents multivariate regression modelling including also other potential predictor variables like gender, expected educational attainment, socioeconomic background, civic knowledge and classroom climate for discussion of civic themes.

3. Data and Methods

The ICCS 2009 student questionnaire included five items reflecting attitudes toward equal rights for all ethnic or racial groups in society. Students were asked to “strongly agree” (1), “agree” (2), “disagree” (3), or “strongly disagree” (4) with the following statements (the terms in angle brackets were adapted to national contexts):

- All <ethnic/racial groups> should have an equal chance to get a good education in <country of test>;
- All <ethnic/racial groups> should have an equal chance to get good jobs in <country of test>;
- Schools should teach students to respect members of all <ethnic/racial groups>;
- <Members of all ethnic/racial groups> should be encouraged to run in elections for political office;
- <Members of all ethnic/racial groups> should have the same rights and responsibilities.

The scale measuring students’ attitudes toward equal rights for all ethnic/racial groups had a high reliability for the combined international sample (Cronbach’s $\alpha = 0.83$). On average across participating countries, student agreement was lowest with 72 percent agreeing with the statement “members of all ethnic/racial groups should be encouraged to run in elections for political office”, while it was highest with 93 percent endorsing that “all ethnic/racial groups should have an equal chance to get a good education”.

The ICCS 2009 student questionnaire used the following five Likert-type items (with response categories “strongly agree,” “agree,” “disagree,” and “strongly disagree”) to measure students’ attitudes toward equal rights for immigrants:

- Immigrants should have the opportunity to continue speaking their own language;
- Immigrant children should have the same opportunities for education that other children in the country have;

- Immigrants who live in a country for several years should have the opportunity to vote in elections;
- Immigrants should have the opportunity to continue their own customs and lifestyle;
- Immigrants should have all the same rights that everyone else in the country has.

The question prefacing these items was written in a way that referred to immigration to any country, not just the country the students lived in. This approach was necessary because many ICCS 2009 countries had very little immigration and because the intention behind the question was to measure students' attitudes toward the principle of providing equal rights and opportunities to immigrants. As a consequence, the point of reference was either people coming from abroad or fellow citizens going to live in another country.

The five-item scale items formed a highly reliable scale with a Cronbach's alpha coefficient of 0.90 for the combined international dataset. While across participating countries the agreement was lowest with 76 percent for the statement "immigrants should have the opportunity to continue speaking their language", the highest level of endorsement was recorded with 92 percent for "immigrant children should have the same opportunities for education".

The ethnic/racial background of students was measured with a question which was optional for countries, distinguishing between different groups including ethnic/racial majority and minority groups. The response categories were used to derive an indicator variables where 1 indicated that the students were members of an ethnic/racial minority while 0 was assigned to students belonging to the majority group. Only ten out of 25 European ICCS 2009 countries had included this optional question and the respective analyses were limited to their national samples.

Students were also asked about their country of birth and the responses were divided into two categories. The category "students with immigrant background" (coded as 1) included students who reported that they and both parents had *not* been born in the country of test or who had been born in the country of test but whose both parents had been born abroad. The category "students from non-immigrant families" (coded as 0) comprised all other students, where the students and at least one of their parents had been born in the country. The question was administered in all 25 European ICCS 2009 countries included in the analyses for this paper.

The first step in the analysis consisted in a comparison of scale scores for the dependent variables (attitudes toward equal rights for all ethnic/racial group, attitudes toward equal rights for immigrants) between students belonging to the minority (ethnic/racial minority, immigrant background) with those belonging to the majority (ethnic/racial majority, no immigrant background). Standard errors for the scale scores in each group as well as for the differences in scale scores between groups were computed using jackknife repeated replication (see Schulz, 2013).

Multivariate analyses of these two dependent variables included the following additional predictors:

- Female gender (1, males = 0);
- Expected university degree (1, others = 0);
- Students' socioeconomic background using a (nationally standardised) composite index derived from student reports on parental occupation, parental educational attainment, and the number of books at home (see Schulz & Friedman, 2011);
- Civic knowledge, a test score based on 79 items reflecting students knowledge and understanding of civic issues (see Schulz, Ainley & Fraillon, 2013), for these (preliminary) analyses only the first plausible value was used;
- Openness of classroom climate for the discussion of political and social issues, an IRT scale based on six items.

Continuous variables (attitudes toward equal rights for all ethnic/racial groups and immigrants, socioeconomic background, civic knowledge, and openness of classroom climate) were standardised to have means of 0 and standard deviations of 1 within participating countries, and jackknife repeated replication was used for computing the standard errors of the (unstandardised) regression coefficients.

4. Results

Table 1 shows the national scale scores for students with and without immigrant background as well as the scale score differences between the two groups. It also records the (weighted) percentages of immigrant students within each national sample. Data from the Netherlands are recorded in a separate section of the table and were not included in the calculation of European ICCS country averages because the national study in this country failed to meet IEA sample participation requirements (Zuehlke & Vandenplas, 2010).

The results show that in most countries students with immigrant background tended to be significantly more supportive of equal rights for immigrants. Across European ICCS countries, the difference was about five score points (equivalent to approximately half a standard deviation), the largest differences were recorded in Sweden (10 score points), Finland (9), Austria and England (both 8). In four countries (Bulgaria, Lithuania, Malta and Poland) no statistically significant differences were observed, however, it should be noted that in all of these countries the proportion of immigrant students in the sample was very low (1-2%). Across many countries, the relatively large standard errors for the estimates among immigrant students suggest limited statistical power in those cases where only small sub-samples of students with immigrant background were found.

Table 3-1 National scale scores for students' attitudes toward equal rights for immigrants by immigrant background

Country	Non-immigrant background		Immigrant background		Difference	% of students with immigrant background in sample
Austria	46	(0.3)	54	(0.5)	8 (0.5)	19%
Belgium (Flemish) †	45	(0.3)	52	(0.6)	7 (0.7)	11%
Bulgaria	52	(0.2)	56	(2.4)	4 (2.5)	1%
Cyprus	49	(0.3)	52	(0.6)	3 (0.7)	7%
Czech Republic †	48	(0.2)	53	(1.0)	5 (1.0)	2%
Denmark †	48	(0.3)	55	(0.5)	7 (0.5)	9%
England ‡	45	(0.3)	53	(0.6)	8 (0.6)	15%
Estonia	47	(0.2)	52	(0.8)	4 (0.8)	7%
Finland	48	(0.3)	57	(1.0)	9 (1.0)	2%
Greece	51	(0.2)	54	(0.8)	3 (0.7)	11%
Ireland	49	(0.2)	55	(0.7)	6 (0.7)	12%
Italy	48	(0.3)	55	(0.7)	7 (0.7)	7%
Latvia	47	(0.2)	50	(1.1)	3 (1.1)	5%
Liechtenstein	46	(0.7)	50	(1.0)	4 (1.2)	34%
Lithuania	51	(0.2)	52	(0.9)	1 (0.9)	2%
Luxembourg	49	(0.2)	55	(0.3)	6 (0.4)	43%
Malta	49	(0.3)	53	(2.3)	4 (2.3)	2%
Norway †	50	(0.2)	57	(0.7)	7 (0.8)	10%
Poland	50	(0.2)	50	(1.7)	-1 (1.7)	1%
Slovak Republic ¹	50	(0.3)	54	(1.9)	4 (1.9)	1%
Slovenia	50	(0.3)	53	(0.7)	3 (0.8)	10%
Spain	50	(0.3)	56	(0.6)	6 (0.7)	11%
Sweden	50	(0.4)	60	(0.5)	10 (0.7)	14%
Switzerland †	47	(0.3)	54	(0.5)	7 (0.6)	24%
European ICCS average	49	(0.1)	54	(0.2)	5 (0.2)	11%
Countries not meeting sampling requirements						
Netherlands	45	(0.3)	53	(1.2)	8 (1.3)	13%

* Statistically significant ($p < 0.05$) differences in **bold**.

() Standard errors appear in parentheses. Because results are rounded to the nearest whole number, some totals may appear inconsistent.

† Satisfied guidelines for sample participation only after replacement schools were included.

‡ Nearly satisfied guidelines for sample participation only after replacement schools were included.

¹ National Desired Population does not cover all of International Desired Population.

Table 2 displays the national scales score for students' attitudes toward equal rights for all ethnic/racial groups among students belonging to the majority group and those belonging to a minority group. The percentages of students belonging to minority groups suggest that sub-samples were adequate for this analysis, which is reflected in the only slightly larger standard errors for minority group students' average scale scores compared to those for students from majority groups.

Overall, students belonging to a minority group tended to be more supportive of equal rights for all ethnic/racial groups (with a statistically significant 2 score points difference across European ICCS countries). The largest differences in favour of minority group students were recorded in England (6 score points) and Luxembourg (4). In Cyprus, Greece and Slovenia no statistically significant differences were found, while in Estonia students belonging to ethnic minorities had statistically significant lower scores (-2 score points) than those who were members of the ethnic majority.

Table 3-2 National scale scores for students' attitudes toward equal rights for all ethnic/racial groups by ethnic/racial majority or minority status

Country	Ethnic/racial majority group	Ethnic/racial minority group	Difference	% of students in sample belonging to ethnic/racial minority
Belgium (Flemish) †	48 (0.3)	50 (0.5)	2 (0.6)	14%
Cyprus	47 (0.2)	47 (0.5)	0 (0.5)	20%
England ‡	48 (0.3)	55 (0.5)	6 (0.6)	21%
Estonia	51 (0.3)	49 (0.5)	-2 (0.6)	20%
Finland	48 (0.2)	50 (0.9)	2 (1.0)	10%
Greece	49 (0.2)	51 (0.8)	1 (0.7)	11%
Latvia	45 (0.2)	47 (0.5)	2 (0.5)	23%
Luxembourg	50 (0.2)	54 (0.3)	4 (0.3)	44%
Slovenia	49 (0.2)	50 (0.8)	1 (0.8)	10%
ICCS average	48 (0.1)	50 (0.2)	2 (0.2)	19%
Countries not meeting sampling requirements				
Netherlands	47 (0.3)	50 (0.7)	3 (0.7)	15%

* Statistically significant ($p < 0.05$) differences in **bold**.

() Standard errors appear in parentheses. Because results are rounded to the nearest whole number, some totals may appear inconsistent.

† Satisfied guidelines for sample participation only after replacement schools were included.

‡ Nearly satisfied guidelines for sample participation only after replacement schools were included.

Table 3 shows the unstandardised regression coefficients and explained variance from the multivariate analysis of students' attitudes toward equal rights for immigrants. Female gender had statistically significant associations with the dependent variable in all countries except Liechtenstein and Spain. Across participating European countries, the variable was

associated with a change of 0.2 standard deviations. Expected university education was a significant positive predictor in nine countries while socioeconomic background, after controlling for all other variables, had a positive impact in five, but a negative influence in three countries.

Table 3-3 Multiple regression results for students' attitudes toward equal rights for immigrants

Country	Unstandardised regression coefficients										Explained variance
	Gender (female)	Expected university degree	SES index	Immigrant background	Students' civic knowledge	Open climate for classroom discussion					
Austria	0.29 (0.04)	0.10 (0.04)	0.06 (0.02)	0.79 (0.05)	0.14 (0.02)	0.14 (0.02)	17				
Belgium (Flemish) †	0.27 (0.04)	0.01 (0.04)	0.01 (0.03)	0.77 (0.07)	0.09 (0.03)	0.11 (0.02)	10				
Bulgaria	0.09 (0.04)	0.08 (0.04)	-0.02 (0.02)	0.48 (0.24)	0.20 (0.03)	0.09 (0.02)	7				
Cyprus	0.28 (0.04)	0.09 (0.05)	-0.01 (0.02)	0.37 (0.05)	0.19 (0.02)	0.15 (0.03)	13				
Czech Republic †	0.23 (0.03)	-0.05 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.02)	0.63 (0.10)	0.16 (0.02)	0.12 (0.02)	7				
Denmark †	0.23 (0.05)	0.00 (0.04)	0.07 (0.02)	1.00 (0.07)	0.22 (0.02)	0.12 (0.02)	16				
England ‡	0.14 (0.04)	0.01 (0.05)	0.05 (0.02)	0.77 (0.06)	0.18 (0.02)	0.14 (0.02)	16				
Estonia	0.23 (0.04)	0.02 (0.04)	0.00 (0.03)	0.51 (0.09)	0.00 (0.03)	0.07 (0.02)	4				
Finland	0.47 (0.04)	0.11 (0.04)	0.01 (0.02)	1.04 (0.10)	0.22 (0.02)	0.12 (0.02)	17				
Greece	0.19 (0.04)	0.07 (0.03)	0.00 (0.02)	0.52 (0.06)	0.28 (0.02)	0.13 (0.02)	16				
Ireland	0.20 (0.03)	0.05 (0.04)	0.05 (0.02)	0.61 (0.07)	0.12 (0.02)	0.16 (0.02)	12				
Italy	0.16 (0.04)	0.16 (0.04)	0.01 (0.02)	0.79 (0.08)	0.06 (0.02)	0.19 (0.02)	11				
Latvia	0.12 (0.04)	0.10 (0.06)	-0.07 (0.03)	0.37 (0.13)	0.05 (0.02)	0.09 (0.03)	3				
Liechtenstein	0.15 (0.13)	0.18 (0.14)	-0.06 (0.06)	0.36 (0.11)	0.17 (0.06)	0.08 (0.06)	7				
Lithuania	0.14 (0.05)	0.04 (0.04)	0.03 (0.02)	0.26 (0.09)	0.18 (0.02)	0.08 (0.02)	6				
Luxembourg	0.16 (0.03)	0.03 (0.03)	-0.09 (0.02)	0.60 (0.04)	0.17 (0.01)	0.10 (0.02)	14				
Malta	0.18 (0.05)	0.16 (0.06)	-0.09 (0.03)	0.27 (0.20)	0.24 (0.03)	-0.03 (0.04)	8				
Norway †	0.17 (0.05)	0.07 (0.04)	0.03 (0.02)	0.78 (0.06)	0.19 (0.02)	0.14 (0.02)	13				
Poland	0.21 (0.04)	0.00 (0.03)	0.00 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.19)	0.19 (0.02)	0.08 (0.02)	7				
Slovak Republic ¹	0.13 (0.05)	-0.06 (0.05)	0.04 (0.03)	0.48 (0.23)	0.07 (0.03)	0.15 (0.03)	4				
Slovenia	0.24 (0.04)	0.00 (0.04)	-0.02 (0.02)	0.36 (0.07)	0.15 (0.02)	0.15 (0.03)	9				
Spain	0.04 (0.04)	0.11 (0.04)	0.04 (0.02)	0.65 (0.06)	0.11 (0.02)	0.11 (0.02)	8				
Sweden	0.27 (0.04)	0.10 (0.04)	0.08 (0.02)	0.98 (0.06)	0.20 (0.02)	0.12 (0.02)	22				
Switzerland †	0.29 (0.04)	0.11 (0.04)	-0.02 (0.03)	0.75 (0.06)	0.16 (0.03)	0.06 (0.02)	15				
ICCS average	0.20 (0.01)	0.06 (0.01)	0.00 (0.00)	0.59 (0.02)	0.16 (0.00)	0.11 (0.00)	11				
Countries not meeting sampling requirements											
Netherlands	0.26 (0.08)	-0.03 (0.06)	0.05 (0.03)	0.97 (0.16)	0.11 (0.04)	0.12 (0.03)	16				

* Statistically significant (p<0.05) coefficients in **bold**.

() Standard errors appear in parentheses. Because results are rounded to the nearest whole number, some totals may appear inconsistent.

† Satisfied guidelines for sample participation only after replacement schools were included.

‡ Nearly satisfied guidelines for sample participation only after replacement schools were included.

¹ National Desired Population does not cover all of International Desired Population.

Immigrant background showed positive net effects in all but two countries, Malta and Poland, both of which had only small sub-samples of students from this group. The effect of the dichotomous variable was about 0.6 of a standard deviation in the dependent variable. Civic knowledge had significant effect in all but two countries (Estonia and Latvia), and a change of one standard deviation in the civic knowledge scale was associated

with a change of 0.16 standard deviations in the dependent variable. Openness of classroom climate for discussion was also recorded as a significant positive predictor in all but two countries (Liechtenstein and Malta), with an average effect of 0.11.

Across European ICCS countries, the model explained 11 per cent of the variance in students' attitudes toward equal rights for immigrants, ranging from three per cent in Latvia to 22 per cent in Sweden.

Table 3-4 Multiple regression results for students' attitudes toward equal rights for all ethnic/racial groups

Country	Unstandardised regression coefficients						Explained variance
	Gender (female)	Expected university degree	SES index	Ethnic minority group	Students' civic knowledge	Open climate for classroom discussion	
Belgium (Flemish) †	0.21 (0.05)	-0.01 (0.04)	0.03 (0.03)	0.28 (0.05)	0.16 (0.02)	0.13 (0.02)	7
Cyprus	0.21 (0.03)	0.08 (0.05)	0.04 (0.03)	0.13 (0.04)	0.22 (0.02)	0.16 (0.03)	13
England ‡	0.19 (0.04)	0.05 (0.03)	0.04 (0.02)	0.61 (0.05)	0.29 (0.03)	0.15 (0.02)	22
Estonia	0.17 (0.04)	-0.03 (0.04)	0.00 (0.02)	-0.07 (0.04)	0.27 (0.03)	0.13 (0.02)	12
Finland	0.43 (0.03)	0.14 (0.04)	0.03 (0.02)	0.37 (0.06)	0.26 (0.02)	0.15 (0.02)	19
Greece	0.21 (0.04)	0.12 (0.04)	0.02 (0.02)	0.36 (0.06)	0.26 (0.02)	0.12 (0.02)	14
Latvia	0.02 (0.04)	0.12 (0.05)	-0.04 (0.03)	0.28 (0.06)	0.17 (0.03)	0.13 (0.03)	7
Luxembourg	0.20 (0.04)	0.07 (0.03)	-0.05 (0.02)	0.47 (0.04)	0.19 (0.02)	0.12 (0.02)	11
Slovenia	0.16 (0.04)	0.07 (0.04)	-0.01 (0.02)	0.21 (0.07)	0.27 (0.02)	0.10 (0.02)	12
ICCS average	0.20 (0.01)	0.07 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	0.30 (0.02)	0.23 (0.01)	0.13 (0.01)	13
Countries not meeting sampling requirements							
Netherlands	0.25 (0.06)	0.20 (0.12)	0.05 (0.05)	0.29 (0.11)	0.10 (0.05)	0.18 (0.04)	9

* Statistically significant ($p < 0.05$) coefficients in **bold**.

() Standard errors appear in parentheses. Because results are rounded to the nearest whole number, some totals may appear inconsistent.

† Satisfied guidelines for sample participation only after replacement schools were included.

‡ Nearly satisfied guidelines for sample participation only after replacement schools were included.

Table 4 shows the unstandardised regression coefficients, their respective standard errors and the explained variance in the dependent variable by the model explaining student attitudes toward equal rights for all ethnic/racial groups.

Female gender was a significant positive predictor in all but one country (Latvia). On average across countries, the net difference between gender groups was roughly one fifth of a standard deviation in the dependent variable. Expected university education was a positive predictor in four countries while in others it did not have any statistically significant effects. Socioeconomic background, after controlling for all other variables, was

a negative predictor in Luxembourg, but did not have any statistically significant associations with the dependent variable in other countries.

Belonging to an ethnic minority was a significant predictor in all but one country, Estonia, where no significant net effect was recorded. The effect was equivalent to approximately a third of a standard deviation in the dependent variable. Students' civic knowledge was a statistically significant positive predictor in all countries, a change of one standard deviation was associated with about an increase of quarter of a standard deviation in the dependent variable. Openness of climate discussion about civic issues was also a positive predictor in all countries.

Overall, the model predicted 13 percent of the variance in students' attitudes toward equal rights for ethnic/racial groups, ranging from seven percent in Belgium (Flemish) and Latvia to 22 percent in England.

5. Discussion

As expected, the results show that the level of endorsement of equal rights for social groups in society by young people tends to be partly a question of perspective. ICCS 2009 results show that students from immigrant families were clearly more inclined to agree with positive statements about rights of immigrants in their countries of residence. In those few countries where no statistical significant differences were recorded, very small sub-samples of immigrant students had been included so that comparisons may not have provided a sufficient basis for reviewing this association.

When looking at differences in the endorsement of equal rights for all ethnic groups in society, in many European ICCS 2009 countries there were also significant differences according to ethnic/racial background: Generally, young people from minority groups were found to be more likely to support equal rights for all ethnic/racial groups. For this comparison, in all countries sufficiently large sub-samples were available in ICCS 2009. However, most European participants did not include this optional question so that their data could not be included in this analysis.

For both dependent variables, the association between immigrant or ethnic/racial background, respectively, was also significant after controlling for other variables. For attitudes toward equal rights for all ethnic/racial groups, the net association was significant for all but one country (Estonia). In Cyprus, Greece and Slovenia there had been no

statistical significant differences when comparing the scores between majority and minority students, but after controlling for other variables, belonging to a minority groups did have statistically significant effects on how students viewed this issue.

One of the limitations of this study is the need for combining students from quite heterogeneous backgrounds. Within the group of students with immigrant background, there is considerable variation which may have implications for students' views of society. In particular, within EU member countries it was not possible to distinguish between those from EU and non-EU countries. Given the legal rights immigrants from EU countries have when migrating to other EU member states, it could be expected that students from this type of immigrant families view aspects related to immigration differently from those whose families have come from countries outside the EU.

This is also the case when combining students from different minority groups in a country. There may be vast differences in terms of experiences with ethnic or racial discrimination depending on the particular ethnic or racial group a student belongs to, which in turn might alter their perspectives regarding the need for providing equal rights and opportunities to all ethnic/racial groups.

When trying to assess these more fine-grained differences, surveys like ICCS 2009 often do not provide a sufficient database given that the sub-groups from different minorities or immigrant groups in a representative sample (unless specifically designed to increase certain sub-populations) tend to be very small, which limits the statistical power of the analysis. As we could see from the analysis results in some countries the overall number of immigrant background students already tended to be quite small.

Oversampling strategies could be designed to help render sub-samples of sufficient size, provided that sub-groups of interest are defined at the stage of designing the survey. In principle, there are two main strategies (or a combination of both) which might be chosen in educational studies based on two-stage sampling designs which are typically used in this field of research:

- Using explicit stratification, which encompasses dividing the sampling frame into strata that reflect differing proportions of the sub-groups of interest and for example select higher proportions school from regions with school boasting higher proportions of immigrant or other minority group students; or

- Using a census approach for the sub-groups of students which need to be oversampled, for example by including all immigrant or ethnic/racial minority students in selected schools in addition to the selected class or random sample.

Both strategies require prior information about enrolment by immigrant status and/or ethnic background which may not always be available in advance. When using the first strategy, it is important to be able to target specific schools with higher levels of enrolment of students belonging to the specific sub-groups. While in countries where ethnic minorities with a different language have their own schools this might be quite straightforward (by simply selecting larger sub-samples or all of these particular type of schools), it may be more difficult to have good data on the enrolment for immigrant and/or minority students in mainstream schools which are required in order to identify schools with higher proportions of students in the target groups for oversampling purposes.

When applying the second strategy of including a census of minority students across all selected schools, it will be necessary to have data at the individual student level which allow including all students of the particular target group(s) in the survey. In many countries this might be not be in line with existing privacy legislation and provisions for data protection. Furthermore, schools may also perceive such an approach as discriminatory and refuse to cooperate in cases where enrolment data do not already include information on immigrant or ethnic/racial background and where these data have to be collected prior to within-school sampling.

It is possible to combine both strategies (provided that sufficient data are available) but careful planning and design is required at the stage of the survey design. Researchers need to define the target groups prior to the survey and will need to anticipate (e.g. by using available enrolment information or prior survey data) the extent to which oversampling designs really help to obtain data with sufficient statistical power for comparisons between sub-groups with students from particular backgrounds.

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Young People's Attitudes toward Equal Rights for Ethnic/Racial Minorities and Immigrants: the Effect of Contact and Supportive School Environments in the European Union

In the present study we take advantage of data from the 2009 International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) (IEA, 2009; Schultz, et. al, 2009) to investigate the attitudes that young people from different socio-economic backgrounds in 22 countries from the European Union (EU) have toward equal rights for all ethnic/racial minorities and immigrants. We then use the contact hypothesis (Allport, 1954) to explore whether contact is associated with more supportive attitudes toward equal rights, and examine openness to classroom discussion and supportive student-teacher relationships as characteristics that may be necessary for contact to promote tolerance and inclusive attitudes toward others in school settings. We find that in most EU countries, students from advantaged SES backgrounds exhibit more supportive attitudes toward equal rights for ethnic/racial minorities and immigrants than students from low SES backgrounds. On average in the EU region, contact does not have an effect on students' attitudes toward equal rights, but country-level results are mixed and varied. Consistently across all EU countries, openness to classroom discussion and student-teacher relationship have a positive and statistically significant relationship with attitudes toward equal rights for ethnic/racial minorities and immigrants. We discuss implications for educators and policy-makers, limitations and future research.

Chapter 4: **YOUNG PEOPLE’S ATTITUDES TOWARD EQUAL RIGHTS FOR ETHNIC/RACIAL MINORITIES AND IMMIGRANTS: THE EFFECT OF CONTACT AND SUPPORTIVE SCHOOL ENVIRONMENTS IN THE EUROPEAN UNION**

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1. Introduction

In the present study we take advantage of data from the 2009 International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) to investigate the attitudes that young people from different socio-economic (SES) backgrounds in the European Union (EU) have toward equal rights for all ethnic/racial minorities and immigrants. We then use the contact hypothesis (Allport, 1954) to explore whether contact is associated with more young people’s attitudes toward equal rights, and examine openness to classroom discussion and positive student-teacher relationships as characteristics that may be necessary in schools for contact to promote supportive attitudes toward equal rights. Documenting the attitudes that young people from different socio-economic backgrounds have toward equal rights for ethnic/racial minorities and immigrants is important because peaceful coexistence and democratic stability require that youth learn to maintain positive and respectful attitudes toward the rights of others, in spite of differential needs and potential conflicts of interests (Jackman, 1977). The task is especially relevant in the context of highly diverse societies like the countries of the EU, where people are increasingly exposed to contact with members from diverse groups. In fact, contact with difference can lead to enriched lives and to communities that blossom intellectually and culturally, but it can also create tensions and challenges as different groups often have different needs, interests, values and political inclinations that may enter in conflict with one another. Understanding the effect of SES, contact and the conditions under which intergroup relationships can enrich a society is an important task for researchers as this information can be relevant for educators and policy-

makers in their efforts to foster respect, tolerance and appreciation for diversity among young people.

2. Literature Review

Research suggests that SES background, contact, and supportive school environments (e.g., that are open for discussion and with positive student-teacher relationships) may have a positive effect on students' attitudes toward equal rights for ethnic/racial minorities and immigrants. We discuss each one of these below.

2.1. Socio-Economic Background

Research on students' attitudes toward ethnic/racial minorities and immigrants have shown that youth from socio-economically advantaged backgrounds exhibit more positive views of minorities than youth from disadvantaged backgrounds. An analysis of results from both the Eurobarometer survey (2003) and the European Social Survey (2003) on majorities' attitudes toward minorities suggested that socially disadvantaged majority populations, such as those with low levels of education, people performing manual labour or the self-employed, and people with low income, are more likely to display negative, exclusionist, attitudes toward minorities than socially advantaged majorities.

One way to explain the relationship between SES and attitudes toward immigrants is the labor market competition hypothesis (Borjas, 1999), according to which people from low SES backgrounds may be more likely to perceive ethnic/racial minorities and immigrants as competing with them for the same jobs and educational opportunities than youth from high SES backgrounds (Scheve & Slaughter, 2001). The underlying assumption is that individuals will oppose equal rights for those who have similar skills to their own. Interestingly, recent research also examining data from the European Social Survey shows that people from high SES backgrounds support all immigrants regardless of their skills – even those who could be considered competition – and that in Europe more education is consistently associated with more support for all types of immigrants (Hainmuller & Hiscox, 2010).

A second hypothesis that has been used to explain the relationship between SES and support for equal rights of ethnic/racial groups and immigrants is that people from high SES backgrounds often have more access to the type of experiential opportunities that enable them to gain the cultural capital (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977) they need to develop

appreciative attitudes toward different cultures. In this regard, Hainmuller & Hiscox (2010) find that a large component of the effect of education on attitudes toward immigrants can be accounted by individual differences in values, as more educated individuals are significantly less racist and place significantly greater value on cultural diversity.

2.2. Contact leads to less prejudice and more tolerance

Allport's (1954) contact hypothesis suggests that the opportunity to interact with others can lead to a reduction of prejudice, distrust and hostility and to increased appreciation for diversity between members of majority and minority groups. This hypothesis is based on the idea that intergroup contact can reduce anxiety, increase empathy and change attitudes towards members of an outer group (Pettigrew 1998; Rothbart & John, 1985; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008)

According to this hypothesis, people living in highly segregated environments are more likely to be less tolerant and more prejudiced towards people from an outer-group than people living in highly diverse environments, because they have fewer opportunities to interact with difference. In fact, having more opportunities for interaction with other groups can help people develop a sense of tolerance, empathy, care and responsibility towards others, regardless of existing differences. For example, in the Netherlands, Savelkoul et al. (2011) found that people living in regions with high numbers of Muslims become less prejudiced, more tolerant and more open to integration than people living in regions with low numbers of Muslims. Novotny & Polonsky (2011) also studied Czech and Slovak students and found that both having personal contacts with Muslims and visiting an Islamic country have positive effects on students' attitudes towards Muslims.

However, contact alone may not be a sufficient condition for the reduction of prejudice or the development of positive attitudes toward others. In fact, as Allport (1945) suggests, under certain conditions, contact may accentuate hostilities. For example, if contact leads to arguments in which members from different groups act disrespectfully or violently, contact will not lead to positive attitudes toward members of an opposite group.

2.3. Supportive environments are needed for contact to improve positive attitudes toward minorities

Researchers have identified supportive environments, close contact, cooperation and equal status among members of different groups, as important environmental characteristics that enable contact to promote positive attitudes toward others (Amir, 1969; Pettigrew, 1998).

In school settings, an important way to facilitate the creation of supportive environments as described above is to develop positive student-teacher relationships characterized by closeness, acceptance and warmth. In fact, when teachers develop positive relationships with their students, students can more easily feel a sense of belonging and engage academically and socially with their peers in socially constructive ways (Hamre & Pianta, 2001). Interestingly, teacher-student relationships can impact the attitudes that students have toward others and significantly affect their acceptance of people who are different from themselves. In fact, the ways in which teachers interact with students influence classmates' perceptions of individuals and the social groups to which they belong, as well as their choices to interact with them and their dispositions to accept them (Hughes et al., 1999). The interactions that teachers have with particular types of students (e.g: ethnic/racial minority or immigrants) may affect students' attitudes toward equal rights because they convey either acceptance or lack of acceptance, which in turn may lead students to adopt similar attitudes toward that group of people (Hughes, Cavell & Wilson, 2001).

A second strategy that can facilitate the development of supportive environments is the creation of open to classrooms for discussion, where students can feel free to express their opinions and discuss controversial issues about which people have different perspectives (Hess, 2009). In fact, allowing students to engage with difference and to interact respectfully but openly with different positions can lead them to get to know each other and develop a sense of solidarity, tolerance and respect toward others, regardless of existing differences (De Groof et al, 2008; Barber et al, 2010). Even in the context of demographically homogeneous environments, openness to classroom discussion may help students be more adequately prepared to deal with difference and to have respectful, inclusive attitudes toward the rights and needs of groups different than their own when they include imagined intergroup interactions (Seate, Joyce, Harwood, & Arroyo, 2015).

2.4. The Present Study

The EU was built under the democratic principles of union among diversity. However, European majorities are often hostile toward ethnic/racial minorities and immigrants. Results from the European Barometer (2003) showed that 50 percent of survey respondents in western and eastern European countries expressed resistance to diversity and immigrants, 20 percent avoid social interaction with immigrants and favored ethnic distance, and 58 percent perceived collective ethnic threats when considering minorities. And yet, the EU continues to be in a process of expansion. Also, in the wake of Charlie Hebdo massacre in Paris and growing fears of extremism in the region, it is critical to study the factors that are associated with young people's attitudes toward ethnic/racial minorities and immigrants and identify ways to promote positive intergroup contact and appreciation of diversity.

While there is some research available exploring these issues in various countries of the EU, comparative studies documenting variations in different countries are less common. In the present study, we take advantage of data available as part of the 2009 ICCS study to fill this gap and conduct a comparative study that investigates the attitudes that young people from 22 EU countries have toward equal rights, and the conditions that foster positive attitudes toward the ethnic/racial minorities and immigrants in the region. Specifically, we ask the following questions:

- a. Do children from high SES backgrounds exhibit more positive attitudes toward equal rights for ethnic/racial minorities than children from low SES backgrounds in the EU?
- b. What is the effect of contact on students' attitudes toward equal rights for all ethnic/racial minorities and immigrants?
- c. Are openness to classroom discussion and student-teacher relationships required conditions for contact to have a positive effect on students' supportive attitudes toward equal rights for ethnic/racial minorities and immigrants?

3. Method

3.1. Participants and Datasets

We used nationally representative samples of 8 grade students in 22 countries of the European Union, who in the year 2009 participated in the ICCS study. The 2009 ICCS was conducted by the IEA to assess students' civic knowledge and attitudes in more than 38 countries. In the European Union, the test was administered to 72,466 students within 3025 schools in 22 countries. Teachers, school principals and parents also responded to questionnaires providing information about the contexts in which students learn about civics and citizenship. In our analysis, we incorporated data from the student and school principal's questionnaire. Table 1 shows the distribution of the sample per country, including the number of schools and students that were sampled in each country, and the percentage of students who reported having immigrant background or belonging to an ethnic/racial minority (See Table 1)

Within each country, data samples were collected using a two-stage cluster sample design. During the first stage a PPS (probability proportional to size – as measured by number of students enrolled in a school) procedure was used to sample schools within each country. During the second stage, an intact class from the target grade within each sampled school was randomly chosen, and all students in this class were surveyed.

3.2. Measures

3.2.1. Outcomes

- ETHRGHT (Cronbach's $\alpha=.83$): We measured students' attitudes toward equal rights for all ethnic/racial groups using a continuous student-level variable that summarizes 5 items in which students rate their level of agreement or disagreement with different statements about ethnic/racial rights. For example: "*All <ethnic/racial groups> should have an equal chance to get a good education in <country of interest>*", "*All <ethnic/racial groups> should have an equal chance to get good jobs in <country of interest>*", "*Schools should teach students to respect members of <ethnic/racial groups>*", "*Members of <ethnic/racial groups> should have the same rights and responsibilities*". This variable has a mean of 50 and a standard deviation of 10 for equally weighted countries. More details on the construction of this variable can be found in the ICCS 2009 (Schulz, Ainley, & Fraillon, 2011).

- IMMRGHT (Cronbach's $\alpha=.80$): We measured students' attitudes toward equal rights for immigrants using a continuous student-level variable that summarizes 5 items in which students rate their level of agreement or disagreement with different statements about immigrants' rights. For example: "<Immigrants> should have the opportunity to continue their own customs and lifestyle", "<Immigrants> should have the opportunity to continue speaking their own language", "<Immigrants> children should have the same opportunities for education that other children in the country have", "<Immigrants> who live in a country for several years should have the opportunity to vote on elections". This variable has mean of 50 and a standard deviation of 10 for equally weighted countries. More details on the construction of this variable can be found in the ICCS 2009 (Schulz, Ainley, & Fraillon, 2011).

3.2.2. Key Predictor Research Question 1

- NISB is the National Index of Socio-Economic Status, is a continuous student-level measure that was created through confirmatory factor analysis - including variables such as the highest level of education of the mother and father, and the number of books at home. This variable has mean of 0 and a standard deviation of 1 for equally weighted countries. More details on the construction of this variable can be found in the ICCS 2009 (Schulz, Ainley, & Fraillon, 2011).

3.2.3. Key Predictors Research Question 2

To measure contact (Allport, 1954) with students from ethnic/racial minorities and immigrants, we used the following variables:

- *ETHNRACE_m* is a continuous variable that indicates the proportion of students from a minority ethnic or racial group in the school.
- *IMMIG_m* is a continuous variable that indicates the proportion of students with immigrant background in the school.

3.2.4. Key Predictors Research Question 3

To measure the qualities of school environments that may affect contact we used the following variables:

- OPDISC (Cronbach's $\alpha=.76$) is a continuous individual level variable that reflects the means of 6 items in which students rate their level of agreement or disagreement with *statements that measure perceptions of openness in classroom discussions*. For example: *"Teachers encourage students to express their opinions"*, *"Students express opinions in class even when their opinions are different from most of the other students"*, *"Teachers encourage students to make up their own mind"*. This variable has mean of 50 and a standard deviation of 10 for equally weighted countries. More details on the construction of this variable can be found in the ICCS 2009 (Schulz, Ainley, & Fraillon, 2011).
- STUTREL (Cronbach's $\alpha=.78$) is a continuous individual level variable that reflects the means of 5 items in which students rate their level of agreement or disagreement with statements that measure perceptions of student-teacher relationships at school. For example: *"Most of my teachers treat me fairly"*, *"Most of my teachers really listen to what I have to say"*, *"If I need extra help I will receive it from my teachers"*. This variable has mean of 50 and a standard deviation of 10 for equally weighted countries. More details on the construction of this variable can be found in the ICCS 2009 (Schulz, Ainley, & Fraillon, 2011).

We also created interaction terms to measure the effect of different levels of contact and different levels of student-teacher relationships and openness to classroom discussions: ETHNRm*OPDISC, IMMGM* OPDISC, ETHNRm*STUTREL, IMMGM*STUTREL.

3.2.5. Covariates

- SGender indicates the gender of the student (female=1, male=0).
- IMMIGr reflects the immigration status (immigrant=1, native=0).
- ETHNRr indicates students belonging to a minority race or ethnicity (yes=1, no=0).

3.3. Analytic Strategies

We used the IEA IDB analyzer to control for the complex sampling design implemented in ICCS. This software employs the appropriate sampling and replicate weights in order to obtain unbiased standard errors and point estimates.

3.3.1. First research question

We used Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) robust cluster regressions to obtain the unadjusted, unconditional models for different outcomes related to students' attitudes toward equal rights for ethnic/racial groups and immigrants, and identified their relationship with SES backgrounds. A typical model of the regression that was conducted for each participant country is given:

$$(1) \text{ Outcome} = B_0 + B_1 \text{NISB}$$

In this model, outcome includes variables that reflect students' attitudes toward the rights of different groups, including ethnic and racial groups (ETHRGHTS), and immigrants (IMMRGHTS). Parameter estimate B_0 is the population intercept, and slope parameter B_1 represents the population effect of the question predictor –SES. The parameter of interest is B_1 . If the estimated value of this parameter is positive and statistically significant for ETHRGHTS and IMMRGHTS, we will be able to conclude that children with high SES have more positive attitudes toward equal rights for all ethnic/racial groups and equal rights for immigrants than children from low SES.

3.3.2. Second research question

In order to identify whether contact with ethnic/racial minorities and immigrants contributes to students' supportive attitudes toward equal rights for these groups, we used the following model:

$$(2) \text{ Outcome} = B_0 + B_1 \text{NISB} + B_2 \text{Contact} + \gamma X$$

Outcome represents two variables that reflect students' attitudes toward equal rights for different groups: ethnic and racial groups (ETHRGHTS), and immigrants (IMMRGHTS). Slope parameter B_2 represents the population effect of the key question predictor –contact. When the outcome variable is attitudes toward equal rights for all ethnic/racial groups (ETHRGHTS) the key contact question predictor is the proportion of students from minority races or ethnic groups (ETHNRm). When the outcome variable is attitudes toward equal rights for all immigrants (IMMIGm), the key contact question predictor is the proportion of immigrants in the school (IMMIGm). Y is a vector of covariates that include gender, immigrant status and belonging to a minority ethnic/racial group. The parameter of interest is B_2 . If the estimated values of this parameter are positive and statistically significant in the regressions for ETHRGHTS and IMMRGHTS as outcomes, we will be

able to conclude that the presence of contact is associated to more positive attitudes toward equal rights for all ethnic/racial groups and immigrants, respectively.

3.3.3. Third research question

In order to identify the effect of openness to classroom discussion and student-teacher relationships on students' attitude toward equal rights for ethnic/racial minorities and immigrants in the context of different levels of contact, we used the following models. Equation 3 describes the openness to classroom discussion and student-teacher relationships after controlling for contact and demographic characteristics. Equation 4 describes the differential effect of contact at different levels of 1) NISB, 2) perceived student-teacher relationships and 3) openness to classroom discussion.

$$(3) \text{ Outcome} = B_0 + B_1 \text{NISB} + B_2 \text{Contact} + B_3 \text{OPDISC} + B_4 \text{STUTREL} + \gamma X$$

$$(4) \text{ Outcome} = B_0 + B_1 \text{Contact} + B_2 \text{NISB} + B_3 \text{OPDISC} + B_4 \text{STUTREL} + B_5 \text{Contact} * \text{NISB} + B_6 \text{Contact} * \text{OPDISC} + B_7 \text{Contact} * \text{STUTREL} + \gamma X$$

In equations 3 and 4, slope parameter B_3 represents the population effect of the question predictor –openness to classroom discussion. Slope parameter B_4 represents the population effect of the question predictor student-teacher relationships. If the estimated values of parameters B_3 and B_4 are positive and statistically significant, we will be able to conclude that openness to classroom discussion and student-teacher relationships are associated with more positive attitudes to equal rights in the different countries of interest. In equation 4, slope parameter B_5 represents the population effect of the interaction of contact and SES. Slope parameter B_6 represents the population effect of the interaction of contact and open classroom for discussion. Slope parameter B_7 represents the population effect of the interaction of contact and student-teacher relationships. If the estimated value of B_5 is statistically significant we will be able to conclude that different levels of contact have a different effect on students' attitudes toward equal rights at different levels of SES. If the estimated value of B_6 and B_7 are statistically significant, we will be able to conclude that different levels of contact have different effects on students' attitudes toward equal rights at different levels of openness to classroom discussion and student-teacher relationships.

3.4. Results

3.4.1. RQ1: What are young people's attitudes toward equal rights in the European Union? Are there significant differences in students' attitudes toward equal rights along the lines of socio-economic background?

Table 3 in the Appendix shows OLS cluster robust regression models that identify the relationship of SES and student's attitudes toward equal rights for all ethnic/racial minorities, for each of the 10 EU countries included in the analysis, as well as the EU regional average. We found that students in Sweden (mean=52), Luxemburg (mean=51.88), Ireland (mean=50.93), Estonia (mean=50.65), and Spain (mean=50.51) exhibited attitudes toward equal rights for immigrants that are significantly above the EU regional mean. Students in Latvia (mean=45.93), Malta (mean=46.3), Czech Republic (mean=46.43), Cyprus (mean=46.87), the Netherlands (mean=47.07), Belgium (mean=47.82), and Bulgaria (mean=48.26) exhibited attitudes toward equal rights for all ethnic/racial groups that were significantly below the EU regional mean (See Table 3).

In Figure 1 we illustrate the effect of different levels of SES on students' attitudes toward equal rights for all ethnic/racial minorities, by presenting fitted values of students' attitudes toward equal rights for all ethnic/racial minorities in prototypical cases of students that exhibit high and low levels of SES. In computing these fitted estimates, we used values of our key SES predictor that were one standard deviation above and below the mean for each country. Our analysis indicates that Latvia, Luxemburg and Bulgaria are the only countries that do not exhibit a gap between high and low SES students in their attitudes toward equal rights for all ethnic/racial groups. In all other countries the observed gap is statistically significant, with students from high SES backgrounds exhibiting more positive attitudes toward equal rights for ethnic/racial groups than students from low SES backgrounds. The largest gaps in students' attitudes toward equal rights for all ethnic/racial groups were observed in Sweden (means difference=3.41), followed by Denmark (means difference=3.16), Ireland (means difference=2.93), England (means difference=2.91), Switzerland (means difference=2.83), Finland (means difference=2.72) and Austria (means difference=2.64). Figure 2 shows the gaps in high and low SES students' attitudes toward equal rights for all ethnic/racial minorities in 22 countries of the EU. (See Figure 1)

Figure 4-1 Differences between high and low SES students in their attitudes toward equal rights for all ethnic/racial minorities in 22 countries of the EU.

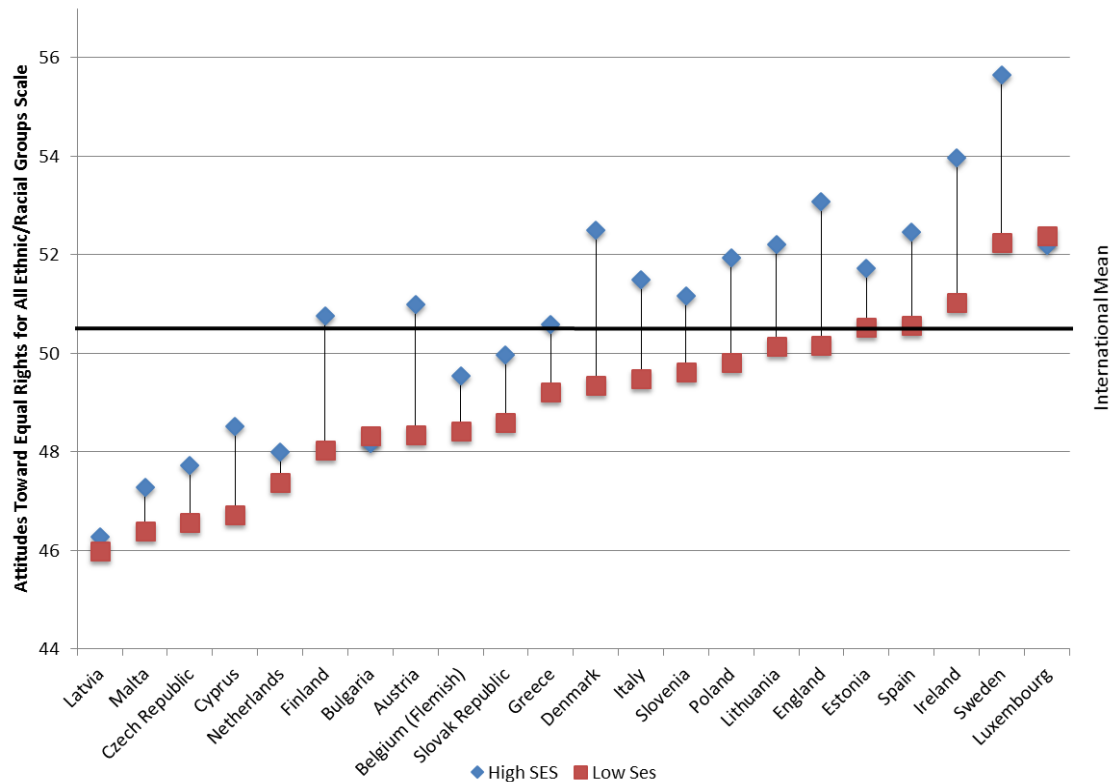
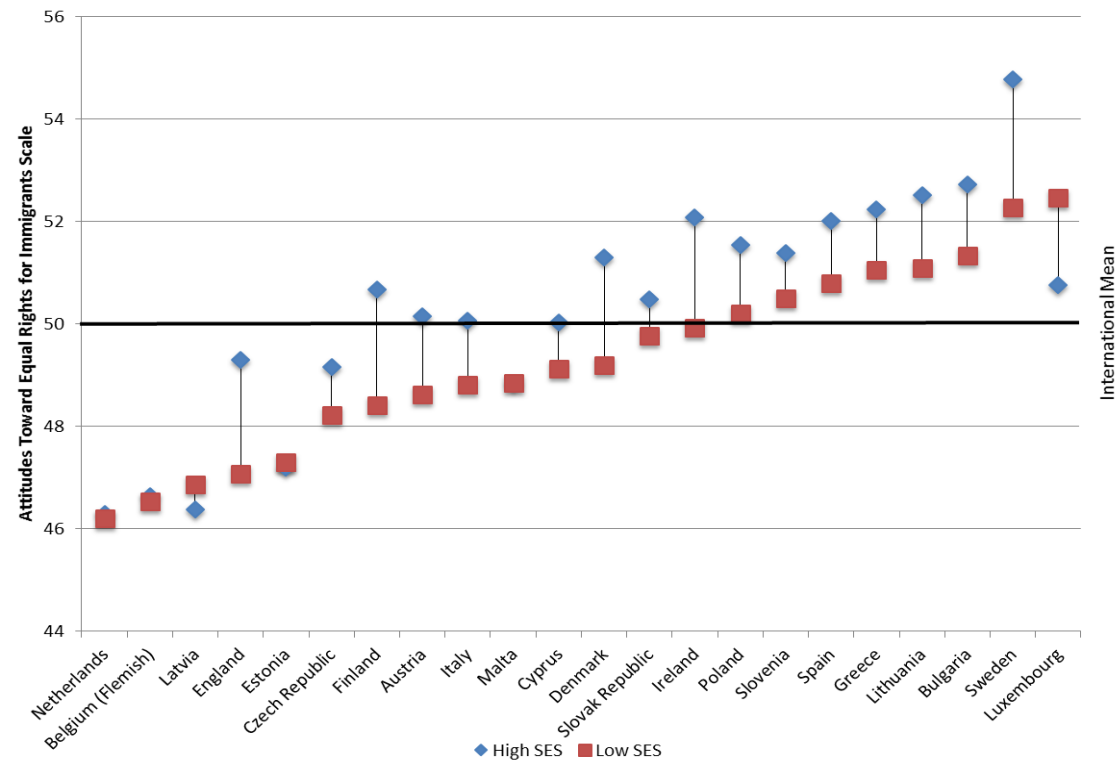


Table 4 in the Appendix shows OLS cluster robust regressions models that describe the relationship of SES and student’s attitudes toward equal rights for immigrants, for each of the 22 EU countries included in the analysis. We found that students in Luxembourg (mean=51.72), Bulgaria (mean=51.66), Sweden (mean=51.58), Lithuania (mean=51.06), Greece (mean=50.94), and Spain (mean=50.67) exhibited attitudes toward equal rights that are significantly above the international mean. Countries where students’ exhibited attitudes that were significantly below the international mean are Belgium (mean=45.88), the Netherlands (mean=45.81), England (mean=46.36), Latvia (mean=46.83), Austria (mean=47.83) and Estonia (mean=47.66).

In Figure 2 we illustrate the effect of different levels of SES on students’ attitudes toward equal rights for immigrants, by presenting fitted values of students’ attitudes toward equal rights for immigrants in prototypical cases that exhibit high and low levels of SES. To estimate these fitted values, we used values of our key SES predictor that were one standard deviation above and below the mean for each country. In Malta, Belgium, the Netherlands and Estonia we did not find statistically significant gaps between high and low SES students in their attitudes toward equal rights for immigrants. In most EU countries

students from high SES backgrounds exhibited attitudes toward equal rights for immigrants that are significantly more positive than those of students from low SES backgrounds, with the exception of Luxembourg where the opposite relationship occurs. Countries with large, statistically significant gaps between students from different SES backgrounds include Sweden (means difference=2.51), Finland (means difference=2.26), England (means difference=2.22), Ireland (means difference=2.15) and Denmark (means difference=2.10). Sweden, the country where students report the most supportive attitudes toward equal rights for immigrants in the EU exhibits the largest observed gap between students of different SES backgrounds. And yet, Swedish students from low SES backgrounds exhibit attitudes toward immigrants that are equally supportive as those of the next most supportive countries in the region. Figure 3 shows the gap in attitudes toward equal rights for immigrants between high and low SES students in 22 EU countries. (See Figure 2)

Figure 4-2 Differences between high and low SES students in their attitudes toward equal rights for immigrants in 22 countries of the EU



3.4.2. Research Question 2: Is contact associated with students' attitudes toward equal rights for ethnic/racial minorities and immigrants?

We conducted OLS cluster robust regressions for each country to explore the relationship of contact with our two outcomes of interest.

Table 5 in the appendix models the relationship between contact with ethnic/racial minorities and students' attitudes toward equal rights for ethnic/racial groups, controlling for SES, gender, ethnic/racial group. Our analysis of the relationship between contact and students' attitudes toward equal rights for ethnic/racial minorities only included ten EU countries because not all participant countries had data on the percentage of students from ethnic/racial minorities in the school. We found that in Belgium, Cyprus, Finland, Greece, Luxemburg, the Netherlands, and Slovenia, contact alone, as measured in terms of the proportion of students from minority ethnic/racial groups in school, is not associated with students' attitudes toward equal rights for all ethnic/racial groups, when controlling for students' SES, gender, race and immigration status. In Latvia ($p > .01$) and England ($p > .05$) contact is associated with more positive attitudes toward equal rights for ethnic/racial minorities, with effect sizes in the range of .12 and .06 standard deviations, respectively. In Estonia, contact with ethnic/racial minorities is negatively associated with students' supportive attitudes toward equal rights for ethnic/racial minorities ($p > .01$). Specifically, for every additional unit in the proportion of students from ethnic/racial minorities in schools, we observe that students exhibit 3.37 less points in the scale of supportive attitudes toward equal rights for ethnic/racial minorities, which is equivalent to an effect size of -.12 standard deviations. (See Table 5).

In Figure 3 we illustrate the effect of different levels of contact with ethnic/racial minorities on students' attitudes toward equal rights for all ethnic/racial minorities in 10 countries of the EU, by presenting fitted values of students' attitudes toward equal rights in prototypical cases of students that attend classes in schools that have high and low proportions of ethnic/racial minorities. In computing these fitted values, we used values of our key predictor that were one standard deviation above and below their respective means for each country.

Figure 4-3 Differences in the Attitudes toward Equal Rights for all Ethnic/Racial Minorities Between Students in Schools with High and Low Proportion of Ethnic/Racial Minorities in 10 countries of the EU

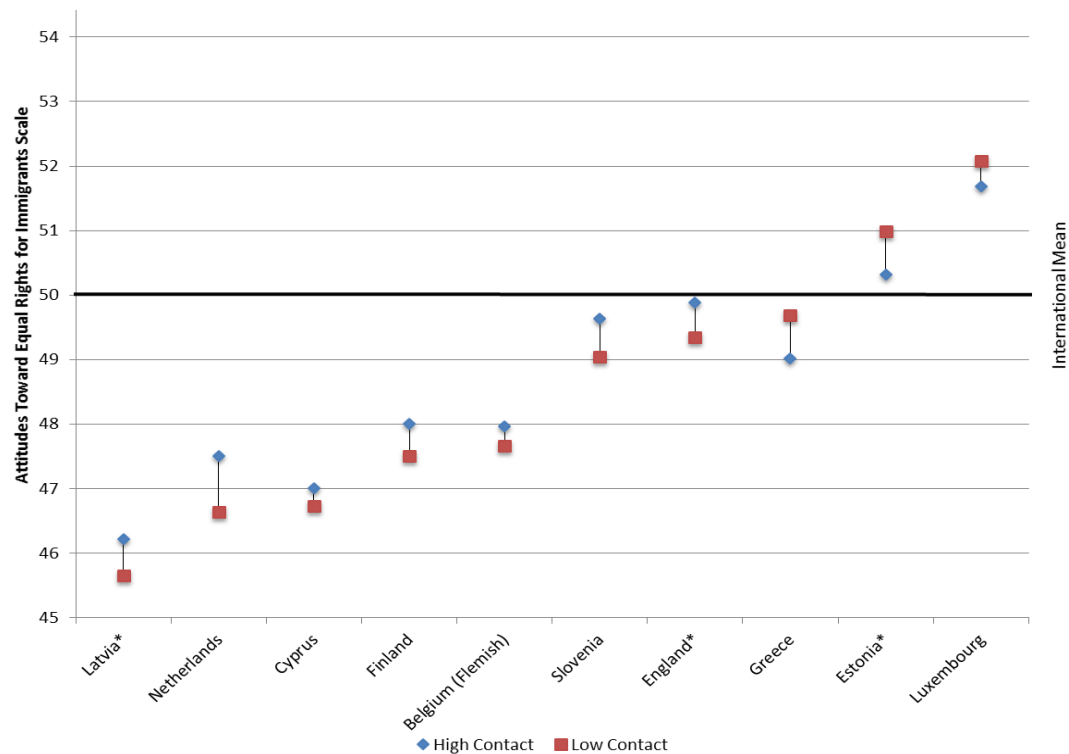


Table 6 in the appendix models the relationship between students' attitudes toward equal rights for immigrants, after controlling for SES, gender and immigrations status in 22 EU countries. We found that in 13 countries -Bulgaria, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Greece, Ireland, Lithuania, Luxemburg, Malta, the Netherlands, Poland, Slovak Republic, and Spain - contact alone, as measured in terms of the proportion of immigrants in school, is not associated with students' supportive attitudes toward equal rights for immigrants. We also found that contact exhibits positive and statistically significant associations with students' supportive attitudes toward equal rights for immigrants in Austria ($p > .01$), Belgium ($p > .01$), Denmark ($p > .01$), England ($p > .05$), Estonia ($p > .001$), Latvia ($p > .05$), Slovenia ($p > .05$) and Sweden ($p > .001$). In all these countries we observe that for every additional unit of contact with immigrants, students in these countries exhibit more positive attitudes toward equal rights for immigrants, with effect sizes in the range of .5 to .21 standard deviations. In Italy we observe the opposite trend, with contact exhibiting a negative and statistically significant association with students' attitudes toward equal rights for immigrants ($p > .001$). Specifically, for every additional unit in the proportion of immigrants

in school we observe that Italian students exhibit .11 less points in their supportive attitudes toward equal rights for immigrants ($p>.001$) (See Table 6).

Figure 4-4 Differences in the Attitudes toward Equal Rights for all Ethnic/Racial Minorities for Students in Schools with High and Low Proportion of Ethnic/Racial Minorities in 22 countries of the EU

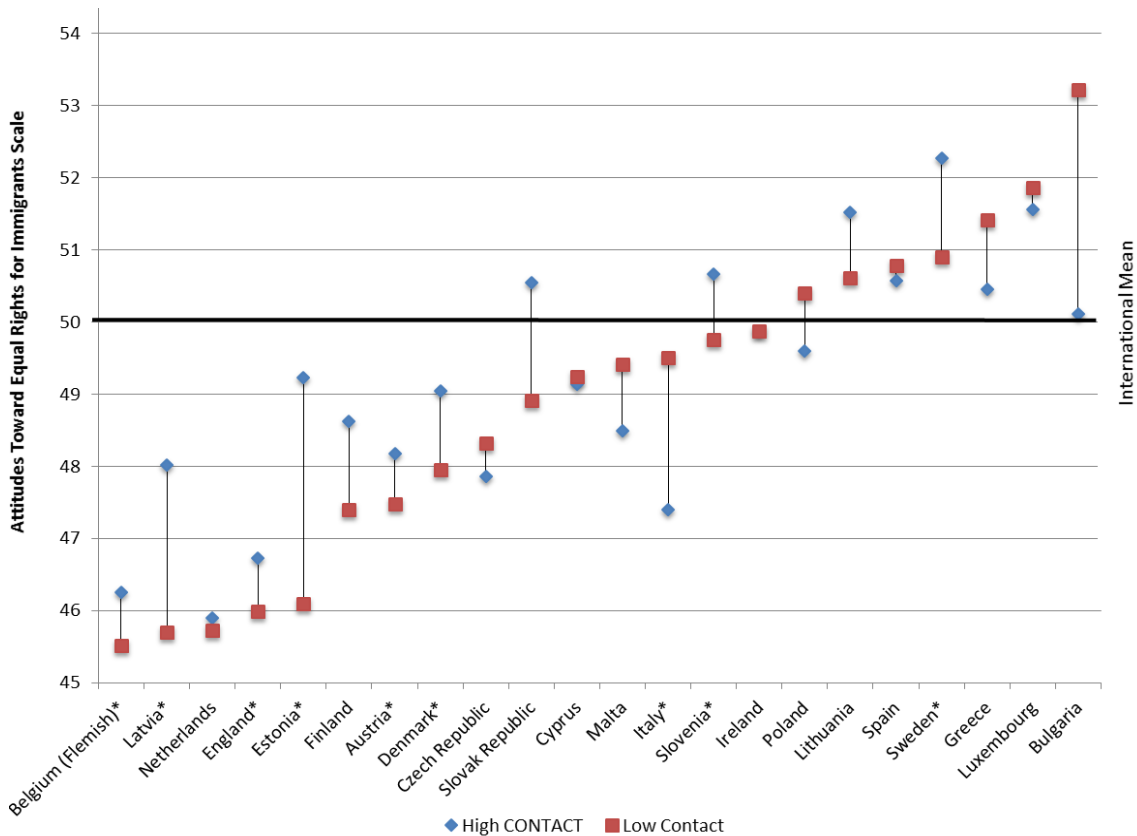


Figure 4 illustrates the effect of different levels of contact with immigrants on students' attitudes toward equal rights for immigrants in 22 countries of the EU, by presenting fitted values of students' attitudes toward equal rights for immigrants in prototypical cases of students that attend classes in schools that have high and low proportions of immigrants. To estimate these fitted values, we used values of our key predictor of contact with immigrants that were one standard deviation above and below their respective means for each country.

3.4.3. Research Question 3: Are positive teacher-student relationships and openness to classroom discussion required for contact to exhibit a positive relationship with students' supportive attitudes toward equal rights?

Tables 7 and 8 (See Appendix) show results of OLS robust cluster regressions that explore the effect of contact, positive student-teacher relationships and openness to classroom for discussion on students' attitudes toward equal rights for all ethnic/racial minorities for each country, after controlling for demographic characteristics. We found that openness to classroom discussion and positive teacher-student relationships have positive and statistically significant effects on students' attitudes toward equal rights for immigrants. Specifically, on average in the EU region, for every additional point in perceived positive student-teacher relationships, participants exhibited .17 more points in the scale of supportive attitudes toward equal rights for all ethnic/racial minorities ($p > .001$). (See Table 7).

Similarly, for every additional point in perceived openness to classroom discussion, students exhibited .13 more points in their supportive attitudes toward equal right for ethnic/racial minorities ($p > .001$). At the country level, openness to classroom discussion had a positive and statistically significant effect on students' attitudes toward all ethnic/racial minorities in all 10 countries included in the sample, with effect sizes ranging from .12 to .24 standard deviations (See Table 5). Including in our models the interaction effects of positive teacher-student relationships and openness to classroom discussion with contact does not modify the relationship that contact has with students' attitudes toward equal rights for all ethnic/racial minorities (See Table 8).

Tables 9 and 10 (See Appendix) show results of OLS robust cluster regressions that explore the relationships of contact, student-teacher relationships and open classroom for discussion with our second outcome of interest -students' attitudes toward equal rights for immigrants-, after controlling for gender, SES and immigrant status. We found that in all 22 EU countries included in the analysis, teacher-student relationships have a positive and statistically significant association with students' supportive attitudes toward equal rights for immigrants ($p > .001$). On average in the EU region, for every additional unit of perceived positive teacher-student relationships, students exhibit .17 more points in their supportive attitudes toward immigrant rights ($p > .001$), which is equivalent to an effect size

of .16 standard deviations. At the country level, positive teacher-student relationships exhibit the largest standardized coefficients in Malta (.24 sd), Finland and the Netherlands (.22 sd), England (.20 sd), Italy (.19 sd), Sweden (.18sd) and Belgium (.18 sd). (See Table 9).

Most EU countries included in the analysis also exhibit a positive and statistically significant relationship between openness to classroom discussion and students' supportive attitudes toward immigrant rights. Specifically, on average in the EU region, for every additional unit in perceived openness to classroom discussion, students exhibit .10 more points in their supportive attitudes toward immigrant rights ($p > .001$). (See Table 9) At the country level, the largest standardized coefficients for the relationship of openness to classroom discussion with students' attitudes toward equal rights for immigrants are observed in Greece (.17 sd) and Italy (.15 sd). In Malta and Estonia the relationship between openness to classroom discussion and attitudes toward equal rights for immigrants is also positive but not statistically significant. (See Table 7). Similarly to what we observed with our first outcome of interest, we found that including in our models the interaction effects of positive teacher-student relationships and openness to classroom discussion with contact does not modify the relationship that contact has with students' attitudes toward equal rights for immigrants (See Table 10).

4. Discussion

In this article we took advantage of data available to researchers from the 2009 International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) (IEA, 2009; Schultz, et. al, 2009) to investigate both the attitudes that young people from 22 countries in the European Union (EU) have toward equal rights for all ethnic/racial minorities and immigrants and the factors that are associated with those attitudes. First, we identify gaps in young people's attitudes toward equal rights along the lines of their SES background. Then, we use Allport's (1954) contact hypothesis to explore whether contact is associated with more supportive attitudes toward equal rights in the EU. Finally, we examine openness to classroom discussion and positive student-teacher relationships as school characteristics that may be necessary for contact to promote tolerance and inclusive attitudes toward others, as reflected by students' supportive attitudes toward equal rights of ethnic/racial minorities and immigrants.

4.1. The Relationship of SES and Students' Attitudes toward Equal Rights

Consistently with reports from other studies (European Social Survey, 2003; European Barometer, 2003) we find that in most EU countries, students from advantaged SES backgrounds exhibit more supportive attitudes toward equal rights for ethnic/racial minorities and immigrants than students from low SES backgrounds. Only in Latvia, the Netherlands, Bulgaria and Luxemburg we did not observe a gap, as students from high SES backgrounds exhibited attitudes toward ethnic/racial minorities and immigrants that were similar to those of students from low SES backgrounds. Unfortunately, our dataset does not contain country level variables about income, levels of education, employment and unemployment, so we are unable to explore whether these observed trends provide support to the labor market competition hypothesis or the cultural capital theory. Future research can merge ICCS data with information from other datasets containing country level variables on income, employment, unemployment, educational policies, etc., to clarify these relationships.

We also considered students' attitudes toward equal rights for ethnic/racial minorities and immigrants comparatively, noticing both where they stand in relationship to students from other countries, and in relationship to students from their own country from different SES backgrounds. In conducting these observations a few interesting cases emerged. Sweden and the Netherlands have often been considered successful cases of integration. Interestingly, in our analysis, students from these two countries exhibit opposite characteristics in terms of their levels of support for equal rights to ethnic/racial minorities and immigrants and the gaps they exhibit along SES backgrounds. Specifically, in the Netherlands, we did not observe a gap between high and low SES students' attitudes toward equal rights for ethnic/racial minorities and immigrants, but students in this country exhibited the least supportive attitudes toward immigrants and one of the least supportive attitudes toward ethnic/racial groups in the region. In contrast, Swedish students reported the most supportive attitudes toward equal rights for both ethnic/racial minorities and immigrants in the EU region, but they also exhibited the largest observed gaps between high and low SES students in terms of their attitudes toward equal rights for ethnic/racial minorities and immigrants. Note, however, that low SES Swedish students exhibited attitudes toward immigrants that are equally supportive as those of high SES students from some of the most supportive countries in the region. Future research can

explore these two cases, as the nature of the quantitative data in the ICCS only allows us to identify trends and outliers, but not to account for the underlying processes that are setting apart these countries from the others.

4.2. The Relationship of Contact and Students' Attitudes toward Equal Rights

Our findings do not provide much support for Allport's (1954) contact hypothesis, according to which intergroup contact can lead to positive attitudes toward members from outer groups. In fact, in 7/10 countries contact is not associated with students' attitudes toward equal rights for ethnic/racial minorities, and in 13/22 countries contact is not associated with students' supportive attitudes toward equal rights for immigrants. Only in 3/10 countries contact has a positive association with students' supportive rights for equal ethnic/racial rights, and in 8/22 countries it has a positive relationship with students' supportive attitudes toward equal rights for immigrants. In all cases, effect sizes are small, in the range of .05 and .21 standard deviations. Furthermore, we also found that in some cases contact actually exhibits a negative association with students' supportive attitudes toward equal rights. In Estonia, for example, contact is associated with less supportive attitudes toward equal rights for ethnic/racial minorities ($p > .01$) and in Italy, with less supportive attitudes toward equal rights for immigrants ($p > .001$). These mixed results reinforce the idea that contact alone does guarantee improved intergroup relationships (Amir, 1969; Pettigrew, 1998). Investing in interventions that aim to increase positive attitudes toward equal right for ethnic/racial groups and immigrants by providing opportunities for intergroup contact, without a clear understanding of the conditions under which it may lead to positive or negative outcomes, may not lead to the desired results.

To gain better insights, future studies should consider including instruments that measure the nature of intergroup contact and not just the quantity or frequency with which it occurs. Such instruments would not only capture the extent to which individuals or groups have the opportunity to engage in intergroup interactions but the qualities of interactions that take place between groups, such as respectful, civil, appreciative, or confrontational discussions. Additionally, qualitative country and school level cases studies can be used to shed light on particular instances in which contact shows a strong positive or negative association with students' attitudes toward equal rights for ethnic/racial minorities and immigrants.

4.3. The relationship of Supportive Environments and Students' Attitudes toward Equal Rights

Our findings provide highly consistent support for the idea that positive student-teacher relationships and openness to classroom discussion are associated with more supportive attitudes toward equal rights for ethnic/racial minorities and immigrants. These variables not only have a consistent positive and statistically significant association with students' attitudes toward equal rights across all EU countries, but also, their relationship with students' attitudes toward equal rights exists regardless of the presence and degree of contact with ethnic/racial groups and immigrants that takes place in the classroom.

Without exception, positive teacher-student relationships had positive and statistically significant associations with students' supportive attitudes toward equal rights for immigrants and ethnic/racial minorities in all participant countries. Similarly, openness to classroom discussion had a positive association with students' attitudes toward equal rights for ethnic/racial minorities in all EU countries, and with students attitudes toward equal rights for immigrants in 20/22 countries. Comparatively speaking, positive student-teacher relationships have larger effects than openness to classroom discussion on students' attitudes toward equal rights, with the former being in the range of .12 to .24 standard deviations and the latter in the range of .06 to .17 standard deviations. It is worth noting that these effect sizes are often larger than the standardized coefficients we observed for SES, which were in the range of .05 and .12 standard deviations.

The consistency of these positive patterns highlight the great role that schools can play in promoting tolerance and integration in the region. They also suggest that investing in helping schools implement strategies and interventions to improve the climate of a school and to support teachers in their efforts to develop positive relationships with students and to foster classrooms that are open for discussion may have important returns in terms of tolerance and integration. In fact, even in the absence of contact, positive student-teacher relationships and openness to classroom discussion may help students learn democratic values, become appreciative of diversity, and respectful of the opinions, interests and needs of people from other groups. Potentially, by targeting schools that serve low SES students, such programs could potentially reduce the attitude gaps we observed between low and high students in the EU region. If impact evaluations show that changes in student-teacher relationships and openness to classroom discussion actually cause students to change their

attitudes toward equal rights for ethnic/racial minorities and immigrants, there would provide support for the cultural capital theory according to which high SES students exhibit more supportive attitudes toward equal rights because they have had access to the experiential opportunities that lead people to value diversity.

4.4. Limitations and Future Research

The first limitation of the present study relates to the internal validity of our findings, which addresses the question of whether the relationships tested in the models are causal. Given that we used non-experimental, cross-sectional data, we are not able to conclude that contact, openness to classroom discussion and student teacher relationships have a causal effect on young people's attitudes toward equal rights. In fact, the nature of the data only allow us to identify relationships between variables but preclude us from describing them as causal. In this regard, impact evaluations looking at the effect of education programs and interventions that promote contact, open classrooms for discussion and positive teacher-student relationships can explore causal relationships between these variables. However, the results from our study should be interpreted as denoting plausibility but not causality between these variables and students' attitudes toward equal rights for all ethnic/racial minority groups and immigrants in the EU.

A second limitation of the present study concerns its external validity, which addresses the question of the extent to which the relationships that we identified hold over variations in persons, settings, treatments and outcomes. Given that we used nationally representative samples of eighth grade students from 22 countries in the EU, the results can be generalized to teenagers in these countries, but caution should be used when trying to extrapolate results to other populations, such adults or students from other countries. Caution should be exercised when generalizing the results to other cohorts of young students in these EU countries. In fact, since the 2009 ICCS, many incidents may have significantly altered the attitudes that young people in the EU have toward ethnic/racial groups and immigrants, including the Arab Spring, the Syrian war, the Charlie Hebdo attacks in Paris, and Israel's most recent attacks on Gaza. Furthermore, given that the outcome measures used to assess students' attitudes toward equal rights for ethnic/racial minorities and immigrants are general variables that do not make distinctions between specific groups such as Muslims, Jews, Roma, etc., our findings should be interpreted with caution when applying them to specific subgroups.

A third limitation of our study is related to the construct validity of our measures. Because the data we used comes from self-reports, which often suffer from bias. In fact, self-reports often reflect what students recognize as socially desirable, but they do not necessarily reflect how they really feel about a given issue. Future research on attitudes toward equal rights for ethnic/racial groups and immigrants would benefit from the development of innovative measures to capture attitudes using performance measures, instead of self-reports.

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6. Appendix

Table 4-1 Participant Countries, Number of Schools and Students per Country, Percentage of Students who are Immigrants or from an Ethnic Minority

IDCNTRY	Total Number of Schools that Participated in Student Survey	Total number of Students Assessed	Percentage of students with immigrant background	Percentage of students from an ethnic minority
Austria	135	3,385	19.38	--
Belgium	151	2,968	10.72	51.27
Bulgaria	158	3,257	0.73	--
Cyprus	68	3,194	7.12	20.22
Czech Republic	144	4,630	2.47	--
Denmark	193	4,508	8.65	--
England	124	2,916	14.91	20.80
Estonia	140	2,743	6.86	20.47
Finland	176	3,307	2.36	9.89
Greece	153	3,153	11.32	10.85
Ireland	144	3,355	12.08	--
Italy	172	3,366	7.26	--
Latvia	150	2,761	4.91	23.22
Lithuania	199	3,902	1.68	--
Luxembourg	31	4,852	43.14	43.83
Malta	55	2,143	1.87	--
Netherlands	67	1,964	13.27	14.96
Poland	150	3,249	1.45	--
Slovak Republic	138	2,970	0.73	--
Slovenia	163	3,070	10.16	10.34
Spain	148	3,309	11.13	--
Sweden	166	3,464	13.86	--
Table Average	3,025	72,466	9.37	22.58

Table 4-2 Means, Standard Deviations and Standard Errors of Students' Attitudes toward Equal Rights for All Ethnic groups and Immigrants in 22 EU Countries

IDCNTRY	Attitudes toward equal rights for all ethnic groups (ETHRGHT)				Attitudes toward equal rights for immigrants (IMMRGHT)			
	Mean	(s.e.)	S.D.	(s.e.)	Mean	(s.e.)	S.D.	(s.e.)
Austria	47.73	0.23	10.25	0.14	47.83	0.30	11.07	0.17
Belgium (Flemish)	47.82	0.26	9.33	0.15	45.88	0.26	8.96	0.17
Bulgaria	48.26	0.23	10.61	0.17	51.66	0.20	9.83	0.22
Cyprus	46.87	0.22	10.44	0.13	49.19	0.25	10.75	0.16
Czech Republic	46.43	0.19	8.92	0.10	48.09	0.19	8.68	0.10
Denmark	48.47	0.29	10.29	0.15	48.50	0.25	9.27	0.16
England	49.61	0.32	11.09	0.13	46.36	0.32	10.76	0.18
Estonia	50.65	0.23	9.05	0.14	47.66	0.18	8.60	0.15
Finland	47.76	0.23	10.04	0.14	48.01	0.25	9.96	0.16
Greece	49.35	0.26	10.13	0.15	50.94	0.24	10.34	0.18
Ireland	50.93	0.26	10.76	0.13	49.87	0.22	10.30	0.14
Italy	49.19	0.24	9.24	0.12	48.45	0.26	9.43	0.16
Latvia	45.93	0.22	8.08	0.15	46.86	0.19	8.27	0.15
Lithuania	50.05	0.21	9.10	0.13	51.06	0.18	8.63	0.14
Luxembourg	51.88	0.16	10.82	0.10	51.72	0.16	10.70	0.13
Malta	46.33	0.28	9.59	0.18	48.95	0.30	10.51	0.18
Netherlands	47.07	0.33	10.01	0.25	45.81	0.36	9.16	0.28
Poland	49.60	0.24	9.39	0.12	49.99	0.24	8.82	0.14
Slovak Republic	48.49	0.23	9.29	0.14	49.73	0.29	8.40	0.16
Slovenia	49.34	0.20	9.64	0.13	50.21	0.28	10.19	0.17
Spain	50.51	0.26	10.10	0.13	50.67	0.30	10.62	0.15
Sweden	52.00	0.31	11.17	0.16	51.58	0.40	11.88	0.22
x.Table Average	48.83	0.05	9.88	0.03	49.05	0.06	9.78	0.04

Table 4-3 OLS Robust Cluster regressions for the Effect of SES on students' attitudes toward equal rights for all Ethnic/Racial Groups, controlling for gender, SES and immigrant Status in 10 Countries of the EU.

IDCNTRY	CONSTANT			SGENDER				IS2G02BNR				NISB					
	Coeff	s.e.		Coeff	Std Coeff	s.e.		Coeff	Std Coeff	s.e.		Coeff	Std Coeff	s.e.		R square	s.e.
Belgium (Flemish)	45.87	0.36	***	2.38	0.13	0.42	***	1.58	0.08	0.39	***	0.59	0.06	0.26	*	0.03	0.01
Cyprus	44.98	0.32	***	3.83	0.18	0.39	***	0.25	0.01	0.48		1.20	0.11	0.26	***	0.05	0.01
England	46.62	0.43	***	3.17	0.14	0.54	***	6.70	0.24	0.56	***	2.09	0.19	0.25	***	0.10	0.02
Estonia	49.60	0.33	***	2.80	0.16	0.38	***	-1.74	-0.08	0.53	***	0.83	0.09	0.20	***	0.04	0.01
Finland	44.84	0.30	***	5.20	0.26	0.36	***	2.36	0.07	0.87	**	1.37	0.14	0.21	***	0.09	0.01
Greece	47.46	0.32	***	3.33	0.16	0.39	***	1.99	0.06	0.74	**	1.21	0.12	0.18	***	0.04	0.01
Latvia	44.92	0.28	***	1.11	0.07	0.36	**	1.97	0.10	0.52	***	0.24	0.03	0.17		0.02	0.01
Luxembourg	48.57	0.33	***	2.78	0.13	0.36	***	4.59	0.21	0.39	***	0.52	0.05	0.18	**	0.05	0.01
Netherlands	45.12	0.33	***	3.04	0.15	0.76	***	3.31	0.12	0.92	***	1.05	0.11	0.42	*	0.04	0.01
Slovenia	47.80	0.29	***	2.83	0.15	0.41	***	1.15	0.04	0.77		0.67	0.07	0.22	**	0.03	0.01
Table Average	47.66	0.09	***	2.74	0.14	0.13	***	2.22	0.09	0.20	***	0.99	0.10	0.07	***	0.04	0.00

Table 4-4 OLS Robust Cluster regressions for the Effect of SES on students' attitudes toward equal rights for Immigrants, controlling for gender, SES and immigrant Status in 22 Countries of the EU.

	CONSTANT			SGENDER				IMMIGR				NISB					
IDCNTRY	Coeff	s.e.		Coeff	Std Coeff	s.e.		Coeff	Std Coeff	s.e.		Coeff	Std Coeff	s.e.		R square	s.e.
Austria	44.39	0.39	***	3.79	0.17	0.49	***	8.25	0.30	0.55	***	1.46	0.13	0.22	***	0.12	0.01
Belgium (Flemish)	43.79	0.32	***	2.78	0.16	0.36	***	7.05	0.24	0.63	***	0.33	0.04	0.23		0.08	0.01
Bulgaria	50.69	0.26	***	1.80	0.09	0.34	***	4.84	0.04	2.42	*	1.02	0.10	0.22	***	0.02	0.01
Cyprus	46.80	0.34	***	4.55	0.21	0.42	***	3.38	0.08	0.68	***	0.68	0.06	0.22	**	0.06	0.01
Czech Republic	46.75	0.23	***	2.63	0.15	0.29	***	4.99	0.09	0.97	***	0.43	0.05	0.15	**	0.03	0.01
Denmark	46.36	0.38	***	2.64	0.14	0.40	***	8.56	0.25	0.64	***	1.64	0.18	0.17	***	0.09	0.01
England	44.04	0.45	***	2.23	0.10	0.48	***	8.16	0.27	0.67	***	1.53	0.14	0.24	***	0.10	0.01
Estonia	46.22	0.26	***	2.24	0.13	0.35	***	4.38	0.13	0.81	***	0.16	0.02	0.20		0.03	0.01
Finland	44.94	0.37	***	5.48	0.28	0.44	***	9.44	0.14	0.99	***	1.04	0.11	0.18	***	0.11	0.01
Greece	48.89	0.32	***	3.28	0.16	0.41	***	3.81	0.12	0.74	***	1.06	0.10	0.21	***	0.05	0.01
Ireland	47.67	0.26	***	3.29	0.16	0.35	***	5.85	0.18	0.70	***	1.18	0.11	0.18	***	0.07	0.01
Italy	46.85	0.36	***	2.32	0.12	0.33	***	6.86	0.19	0.71	***	0.79	0.08	0.21	***	0.05	0.01
Latvia	46.04	0.26	***	1.35	0.08	0.35	***	3.08	0.08	1.10	**	-0.29	-0.04	0.19		0.01	0.01
Lithuania	49.96	0.25	***	2.31	0.13	0.37	***	1.58	0.02	0.88		0.84	0.10	0.15	***	0.03	0.01
Luxembourg	48.03	0.26	***	2.41	0.11	0.33	***	6.09	0.28	0.41	***	-0.15	-0.01	0.18		0.10	0.01
Malta	47.42	0.33	***	2.93	0.14	0.59	***	2.73	0.03	2.23		0.09	0.01	0.28		0.02	0.01
Netherlands	43.31	0.60	***	2.79	0.15	0.76	***	8.76	0.33	1.40	***	0.72	0.08	0.28	**	0.13	0.03
Poland	48.66	0.26	***	2.70	0.15	0.28	***	0.58	0.01	1.67		0.66	0.07	0.15	***	0.03	0.01
Slovak Republic	48.84	0.37	***	1.66	0.10	0.42	***	4.28	0.04	1.93	*	0.50	0.06	0.25	*	0.01	0.01
Slovenia	48.13	0.40	***	3.60	0.18	0.42	***	3.19	0.09	0.76	***	0.22	0.02	0.20		0.04	0.01
Spain	49.26	0.39	***	1.42	0.07	0.44	**	6.34	0.19	0.68	***	1.08	0.10	0.24	***	0.04	0.01
Sweden	47.83	0.46	***	4.40	0.19	0.47	***	11.44	0.33	0.68	***	2.12	0.18	0.26	***	0.15	0.01
Table Average	47.83	0.07	***	2.67	0.14	0.08	***	4.90	0.14	0.23	***	0.76	0.08	0.04	***	0.06	0.00

Table 4-5 OLS Robust Cluster regressions for the Effect of Contact on students' attitudes toward equal rights for all Ethnic/Racial Groups, controlling for gender, SES and immigrant Status in 10 Countries of the EU.

IDCNTRY	CONSTANT			SGENDER			IS2G02BNR			NISB			IS2G02BNM			R square s.e.	
	Coeff	s.e.		Coeff	Std Coeff	s.e.	Coeff	Std Coeff	s.e.	Coeff	Std Coeff	s.e.	Coeff	Std Coeff	s.e.		
Belgium (Flemish)	45.25	0.61	***	2.24	0.12	0.42	***	1.37	0.07	0.38	***	0.65	0.07	0.26	*	0.03	0.01
Cyprus	44.65	0.51	***	3.83	0.18	0.39	***	0.14	0.01	0.48		1.25	0.12	0.26	***	0.05	0.01
England	46.20	0.45	***	3.14	0.14	0.53	***	5.73	0.21	0.70	***	2.08	0.19	0.25	***	0.11	0.02
Estonia	49.83	0.34	***	2.80	0.15	0.37	***	0.48	0.02	0.81		0.84	0.09	0.20	***	0.05	0.01
Finland	44.72	0.30	***	5.23	0.26	0.36	***	1.12	0.03	0.86		1.32	0.13	0.20	***	0.09	0.01
Greece	47.79	0.40	***	3.29	0.16	0.38	***	2.37	0.07	0.72	***	1.19	0.12	0.18	***	0.04	0.01
Latvia	44.67	0.31	***	1.13	0.07	0.36	**	0.13	0.01	0.58		0.27	0.03	0.17		0.02	0.01
Luxembourg	49.31	0.60	***	2.75	0.13	0.36	***	4.69	0.22	0.41	***	0.38	0.04	0.21		0.05	0.01
Netherlands	44.46	0.65	***	3.07	0.15	0.76	***	2.48	0.09	1.01	*	1.11	0.11	0.39	**	0.05	0.01
Slovenia	47.53	0.32	***	2.90	0.15	0.39	***	0.64	0.02	0.75		0.68	0.07	0.22	**	0.03	0.01
Table Average	47.10	0.08	***	2.86	0.14	0.09	***	1.92	0.07	0.22	***	1.06	0.11	0.05	***	0.04	0.00

Table 4-6 OLS Robust Cluster regressions for the Effect of Contact on students' attitudes toward equal rights for immigrants, controlling for gender, SES and immigrant status in 22 countries of the EU.

	CONSTANT			SGENDER			IMMIGR			NISB			IMMIGM								
IDCNTRY	Coeff	s.e.		Coeff	Std Coeff	s.e.		Coeff	Std Coeff	s.e.		Coeff	Std Coeff	s.e.		R square	s.e.				
Austria	43.81	0.47	***	3.80	0.17	0.48	***	7.48	0.27	0.60	***	1.49	0.13	0.23	***	3.45	0.06	1.24	**	0.12	0.01
Belgium (Flemish)	43.53	0.34	***	2.65	0.15	0.39	***	6.24	0.22	0.74	***	0.42	0.05	0.22		3.72	0.07	1.35	**	0.09	0.01
Bulgaria	50.76	0.27	***	1.90	0.10	0.34	***	4.75	0.04	2.49		1.01	0.10	0.21	***	-15.58	-0.03	9.05		0.02	0.01
Cyprus	46.72	0.45	***	4.61	0.21	0.43	***	3.14	0.08	0.76	***	0.69	0.06	0.21	***	-0.55	0.00	3.23		0.06	0.01
Czech Republic	46.81	0.25	***	2.63	0.15	0.29	***	5.07	0.09	0.87	***	0.45	0.05	0.14	**	-2.27	-0.01	5.25		0.03	0.01
Denmark	45.98	0.36	***	2.63	0.14	0.40	***	7.49	0.23	0.75	***	1.70	0.18	0.16	***	5.47	0.08	2.02	**	0.10	0.01
England	43.50	0.47	***	2.44	0.11	0.47	***	6.83	0.23	0.78	***	1.52	0.14	0.22	***	3.67	0.07	1.51	*	0.10	0.01
Estonia	45.35	0.29	***	2.26	0.13	0.34	***	1.19	0.03	0.81		0.21	0.02	0.20		15.71	0.21	2.64	***	0.07	0.02
Finland	44.88	0.36	***	5.45	0.27	0.45	***	8.28	0.13	1.27	***	1.04	0.10	0.19	***	6.12	0.04	3.48		0.11	0.01
Greece	49.29	0.42	***	3.34	0.16	0.40	***	4.43	0.14	0.64	***	1.05	0.10	0.21	***	-4.79	-0.05	3.55		0.05	0.01
Ireland	47.64	0.35	***	3.22	0.16	0.36	***	5.69	0.18	0.75	***	1.13	0.11	0.18	***	0.00	0.00	2.50		0.07	0.01
Italy	47.47	0.38	***	2.39	0.13	0.34	***	8.23	0.23	0.60	***	0.77	0.08	0.20	***	-10.54	-0.11	3.05	***	0.07	0.01
Latvia	45.63	0.31	***	1.27	0.08	0.34	***	0.59	0.02	1.12		-0.29	-0.04	0.19		11.58	0.14	4.77	*	0.03	0.01
Lithuania	49.84	0.25	***	2.34	0.14	0.36	***	0.53	0.01	1.17		0.85	0.10	0.15	***	4.53	0.03	2.49		0.03	0.01
Luxembourg	48.41	0.50	***	2.46	0.12	0.35	***	6.29	0.29	0.41	***	-0.20	-0.02	0.20		-1.52	-0.03	1.24		0.10	0.01
Malta	47.48	0.35	***	2.96	0.14	0.57	***	4.21	0.05	2.29		0.04	0.00	0.29		-4.61	-0.01	13.62		0.02	0.01
Netherlands	43.11	0.70	***	2.81	0.15	0.74	***	8.63	0.32	1.66	***	0.73	0.08	0.27	**	0.89	0.02	3.75		0.13	0.03
Poland	48.67	0.28	***	2.74	0.16	0.28	***	0.32	0.00	1.70		0.69	0.08	0.15	***	-4.03	-0.01	6.76		0.03	0.01
Slovak Republic	48.81	0.39	***	1.64	0.10	0.41	***	3.64	0.04	1.84	*	0.56	0.07	0.24	*	8.13	0.02	15.62		0.02	0.01
Slovenia	47.71	0.48	***	3.55	0.17	0.42	***	2.69	0.08	0.64	***	0.23	0.02	0.20		4.58	0.05	2.18	*	0.04	0.01
Spain	49.37	0.45	***	1.39	0.07	0.44	**	6.45	0.19	0.74	***	1.08	0.10	0.24	***	-1.05	-0.01	2.18		0.04	0.01
Sweden	47.11	0.48	***	4.42	0.19	0.49	***	9.35	0.27	0.81	***	2.17	0.18	0.25	***	6.83	0.11	1.47	***	0.16	0.01
Table Average	46.90	0.09	***	2.86	0.14	0.09	***	5.07	0.14	0.26	***	0.79	0.08	0.04	***	1.35	0.03	1.21		0.07	0.00

Table 4-7 OLS robust cluster regressions for the effect of contact, openness to classroom discussion and student-teacher relationships on students' attitudes toward equal rights for all ethnic/racial groups, with demographic controls in 10 countries of the EU.

IDCNTRY	CONSTANT			SGENDER			IS2G02BNR			NISB			IS2G02BNM			OPDISC			STUTREL			R square s.e.							
	Coeff	s.e.		Coeff	Std Coeff	s.e.	Coeff	Std Coeff	s.e.	Coeff	Std Coeff	s.e.	Coeff	Std Coeff	s.e.	Coeff	Std Coeff	s.e.	Coeff	Std Coeff	s.e.								
Belgium (Flemish)	30.56	1.60	***	1.83	0.10	0.44	***	1.22	0.07	0.37	***	0.76	0.08	0.28	**	1.61	0.04	0.97	0.10	0.10	0.02	***	0.20	0.19	0.02	***	0.08	0.01	
Cyprus	30.45	1.16	***	3.28	0.16	0.37	***	0.42	0.02	0.46		1.30	0.12	0.25	***	1.74	0.02	1.76	0.15	0.16	0.02	***	0.15	0.15	0.02	***	0.11	0.01	
England	27.09	1.52	***	2.73	0.12	0.44	***	5.62	0.21	0.70	***	1.66	0.15	0.20	***	2.32	0.05	1.18	*	0.16	0.15	0.03	***	0.23	0.19	0.02	***	0.19	0.02
Estonia	36.81	1.41	***	2.27	0.13	0.38	***	0.64	0.03	0.81		0.79	0.09	0.18	***	-3.03	-0.11	0.98	**	0.10	0.10	0.02	***	0.17	0.16	0.03	***	0.09	0.01
Finland	26.25	1.58	***	4.82	0.24	0.33	***	1.36	0.04	0.78		1.08	0.11	0.18	***	1.61	0.04	1.04	0.13	0.11	0.03	***	0.25	0.22	0.03	***	0.16	0.02	
Greece	32.78	1.50	***	2.84	0.14	0.37	***	2.58	0.08	0.74	***	1.17	0.12	0.18	***	-2.94	-0.03	2.17	0.16	0.15	0.02	***	0.14	0.14	0.02	***	0.10	0.01	
Latvia	32.32	1.62	***	0.74	0.05	0.34	*	0.13	0.01	0.57		0.37	0.05	0.17	*	2.75	0.11	0.93	**	0.12	0.13	0.03	***	0.14	0.14	0.02	***	0.07	0.01
Luxembourg	36.54	1.23	***	2.36	0.11	0.37	***	4.73	0.22	0.39	***	0.48	0.04	0.20	*	-2.37	-0.04	1.20	*	0.10	0.09	0.02	***	0.17	0.16	0.02	***	0.10	0.01
Netherlands	24.32	2.42	***	2.72	0.14	0.69	***	2.37	0.08	1.18	*	1.06	0.11	0.36	**	4.73	0.08	4.21	0.15	0.13	0.04	***	0.27	0.21	0.03	***	0.12	0.02	
Slovenia	36.58	1.54	***	2.30	0.12	0.40	***	0.97	0.03	0.75		0.74	0.08	0.22	***	2.36	0.03	1.69	0.12	0.12	0.02	***	0.11	0.11	0.03	***	0.06	0.01	
Table Average	31.65	0.32	***	2.26	0.11	0.09	***	2.00	0.08	0.23	***	1.00	0.10	0.04	***	0.88	0.02	0.59	0.14	0.13	0.01	***	0.18	0.17	0.01	***	0.17	0.02	

Table 4-8 OLS robust cluster regressions for the relationship of contact, openness to classroom discussion, student-teacher relationships and interactions with students' attitudes toward equal rights for all ethnic/racial minorities, with demographic controls, in 10 countries of the EU

	CONSTANT		SGENDER			IS2G02BNR			NISB			IS2G02BNM			OPDISC			OPCLXRAC			STUTREL			STREXRAC				
IDCNTRY	Coeff	s.e.	Coeff	Std Coeff	s.e.	Coeff	Std Coeff	s.e.	Coeff	Std Coeff	s.e.	Coeff	Std Coeff	s.e.	Coeff	Std Coeff	s.e.	Coeff	Std Coeff	s.e.	Coeff	Std Coeff	s.e.	Coeff	Std Coeff	s.e.	R square	s.e.
Belgium (Flemish)	29.56	3.93 ***	1.79	0.10	0.44 ***	1.23	0.07	0.37 ***	0.77	0.08	0.28 **	3.42	0.08	7.43	0.03	0.03	0.05	0.13	0.17	0.09	0.29	0.28	0.07 ***	-0.17	-0.21	0.13	0.09	0.01
Cyprus	29.16	2.51 ***	3.30	0.16	0.37 ***	0.39	0.01	0.46	1.31	0.12	0.25 ***	8.04	0.08	10.63	0.12	0.13	0.06 *	0.14	0.08	0.22	0.21	0.21	0.05 ***	-0.30	-0.15	0.18	0.11	0.01
England	26.90	1.88 ***	2.73	0.12	0.44 ***	5.64	0.21	0.70 ***	1.64	0.15	0.21 ***	2.69	0.06	5.27	0.13	0.12	0.03 ***	0.12	0.15	0.09	0.26	0.22	0.03 ***	-0.14	-0.15	0.07 *	0.19	0.02
Estonia	36.98	1.71 ***	2.26	0.12	0.39 ***	0.63	0.03	0.80	0.79	0.09	0.18 ***	-3.81	-0.14	2.82	0.10	0.10	0.03 **	0.02	0.04	0.07	0.17	0.16	0.03 ***	-0.01	-0.01	0.06	0.09	0.01
Finland	26.96	1.88 ***	4.80	0.24	0.34 ***	1.30	0.04	0.79	1.07	0.11	0.17 ***	-5.02	-0.11	7.96	0.11	0.09	0.03 ***	0.19	0.22	0.13	0.26	0.22	0.03 ***	-0.06	-0.07	0.08	0.17	0.02
Greece	32.68	2.01 ***	2.84	0.14	0.37 ***	2.59	0.08	0.74 ***	1.17	0.12	0.18 ***	-1.68	-0.02	11.19	0.15	0.14	0.03 ***	0.07	0.04	0.16	0.15	0.16	0.04 ***	-0.10	-0.06	0.28	0.10	0.01
Latvia	31.61	1.71 ***	0.74	0.05	0.34 *	0.12	0.01	0.55	0.36	0.04	0.17 *	6.12	0.25	5.79	0.11	0.12	0.03 ***	0.05	0.10	0.10	0.17	0.17	0.03 ***	-0.12	-0.24	0.08	0.07	0.01
Luxembourg	38.71	2.48 ***	2.36	0.11	0.37 ***	4.74	0.22	0.39 ***	0.49	0.04	0.20 *	-7.45	-0.13	6.56	0.08	0.07	0.05	0.06	0.06	0.09	0.15	0.14	0.06 *	0.04	0.04	0.15	0.10	0.01
Netherlands	25.61	2.80 ***	2.72	0.14	0.70 ***	2.37	0.08	1.18 *	1.05	0.11	0.36 **	-3.09	-0.05	13.95	0.16	0.13	0.06 **	-0.05	-0.04	0.21	0.23	0.19	0.05 ***	0.21	0.17	0.30	0.12	0.02
Slovenia	38.11	2.20 ***	2.31	0.12	0.40 ***	1.01	0.03	0.74	0.74	0.08	0.21 ***	-13.41	-0.17	15.88	0.11	0.11	0.03 ***	0.10	0.07	0.23	0.09	0.08	0.04 *	0.23	0.14	0.27	0.06	0.01
Table Average	31.77	0.41 ***	2.26	0.113	0.09 ***	2.00	0.077	0.22 ***	1.00	0.100	0.04 ***	-1.42	-0.015	3.03	0.13	0.120	0.01 ***	0.08	0.087	0.05	0.19	0.179	0.01 ***	-0.04	-0.054	0.06	0.10	0.00

Table 4-9 OLS robust cluster regressions for the effect of contact, openness to classroom discussion and student-teacher relationships on students' attitudes toward equal rights for immigrants, with demographic controls, in 22 countries of the EU.

IDCNTRY	CONSTANT			SGENDER			IMMIGR			NISB			IMMIGM			OPDISC			STUTREL			R square s.e.							
	Coeff	s.e.		Coeff	Std Coeff	s.e.	Coeff	Std Coeff	s.e.	Coeff	Std Coeff	s.e.	Coeff	Std Coeff	s.e.	Coeff	Std Coeff	s.e.	Coeff	Std Coeff	s.e.								
Austria	32.60	1.24	***	3.17	0.14	0.46	***	7.39	0.26	0.56	***	1.49	0.13	0.24	***	3.03	0.06	1.25	*	0.10	0.09	0.02	***	0.15	0.14	0.03	***	0.16	0.02
Belgium (Flemish)	31.23	1.44	***	2.34	0.13	0.37	***	6.13	0.21	0.71	***	0.51	0.06	0.24	*	3.59	0.07	1.29	**	0.08	0.08	0.02	***	0.18	0.18	0.02	***	0.13	0.01
Bulgaria	37.60	1.37	***	1.35	0.07	0.36	***	4.96	0.04	2.37	*	1.02	0.10	0.20	***	-12.11	-0.02	8.26		0.11	0.11	0.02	***	0.16	0.16	0.02	***	0.06	0.01
Cyprus	32.41	1.47	***	4.10	0.19	0.40	***	2.86	0.07	0.75	***	0.73	0.07	0.20	***	0.66	0.00	3.18		0.13	0.14	0.02	***	0.17	0.17	0.02	***	0.12	0.02
Czech Republic	34.24	1.05	***	2.01	0.12	0.30	***	4.96	0.09	0.84	***	0.46	0.05	0.14	***	-1.28	0.00	5.44		0.10	0.09	0.02	***	0.17	0.17	0.02	***	0.08	0.01
Denmark	33.45	1.28	***	2.31	0.12	0.41	***	7.58	0.23	0.69	***	1.36	0.15	0.16	***	4.98	0.07	2.02	*	0.12	0.12	0.02	***	0.12	0.13	0.02	***	0.14	0.01
England	27.67	1.45	***	2.21	0.10	0.42	***	6.47	0.21	0.74	***	1.18	0.11	0.21	***	3.47	0.07	1.37	*	0.09	0.09	0.02	***	0.23	0.20	0.03	***	0.16	0.01
Estonia	37.16	1.57	***	1.99	0.12	0.32	***	1.10	0.03	0.77		0.22	0.03	0.20		16.61	0.22	2.55	***	0.03	0.03	0.03		0.14	0.14	0.03	***	0.09	0.02
Finland	28.75	1.55	***	5.13	0.26	0.41	***	7.71	0.12	1.22	***	0.80	0.08	0.16	***	6.85	0.04	2.66	*	0.08	0.06	0.03	**	0.26	0.22	0.03	***	0.17	0.02
Greece	33.54	1.46	***	2.85	0.14	0.37	***	4.55	0.14	0.66	***	1.00	0.10	0.21	***	-4.48	-0.05	3.03		0.18	0.17	0.02	***	0.14	0.14	0.03	***	0.11	0.01
Ireland	33.51	1.07	***	2.49	0.12	0.37	***	5.54	0.18	0.75	***	0.91	0.09	0.18	***	-0.36	0.00	2.34		0.10	0.11	0.02	***	0.19	0.18	0.02	***	0.13	0.01
Italy	29.37	1.60	***	1.64	0.09	0.34	***	8.37	0.23	0.58	***	0.73	0.08	0.20	***	-8.26	-0.08	2.81	**	0.16	0.15	0.02	***	0.19	0.19	0.02	***	0.14	0.01
Latvia	34.78	1.63	***	1.00	0.06	0.32	**	0.65	0.02	1.13		-0.17	-0.02	0.20		11.48	0.14	4.76	*	0.08	0.09	0.03	**	0.15	0.15	0.02	***	0.06	0.01
Lithuania	41.57	1.62	***	1.88	0.11	0.36	***	0.81	0.01	1.16		0.89	0.10	0.14	***	4.69	0.03	2.39		0.07	0.07	0.02	**	0.10	0.10	0.02	***	0.05	0.01
Luxembourg	37.67	1.21	***	2.12	0.10	0.36	***	6.22	0.29	0.41	***	-0.14	-0.01	0.18		-1.71	-0.03	1.27		0.10	0.08	0.03	***	0.14	0.13	0.02	***	0.13	0.01
Malta	35.00	2.55	***	2.60	0.12	0.53	***	4.28	0.06	2.25		0.07	0.01	0.29		-0.51	0.00	12.05		0.00	0.00	0.04		0.24	0.24	0.03	***	0.08	0.02
Netherlands	27.62	2.42	***	2.61	0.14	0.64	***	8.41	0.31	1.61	***	0.69	0.07	0.24	**	1.25	0.02	3.68		0.07	0.06	0.03	**	0.25	0.22	0.04	***	0.19	0.03
Poland	39.62	1.36	***	2.37	0.13	0.30	***	0.10	0.00	1.67		0.74	0.08	0.15	***	-3.55	-0.01	6.67		0.06	0.06	0.02	**	0.14	0.14	0.02	***	0.06	0.01
Slovak Republic	36.53	1.68	***	1.13	0.07	0.40	**	3.76	0.04	1.91	*	0.69	0.08	0.24	**	3.07	0.01	15.36		0.10	0.10	0.03	***	0.16	0.17	0.02	***	0.06	0.01
Slovenia	33.72	1.65	***	2.80	0.14	0.40	***	2.73	0.08	0.60	***	0.30	0.03	0.20		3.92	0.04	2.09		0.15	0.14	0.03	***	0.15	0.14	0.03	***	0.09	0.01
Spain	37.01	1.68	***	0.68	0.03	0.43		6.32	0.19	0.70	***	1.05	0.10	0.23	***	-0.35	0.00	1.96		0.09	0.08	0.02	***	0.16	0.15	0.02	***	0.08	0.01
Sweden	30.87	1.82	***	3.86	0.16	0.47	***	9.00	0.26	0.84	***	1.88	0.16	0.26	***	6.76	0.11	1.53	***	0.11	0.09	0.03	***	0.22	0.18	0.03	***	0.21	0.02
Table Average	33.90	0.34	***	2.39	0.12	0.09	***	5.00	0.14	0.25	***	0.75	0.07	0.04	***	1.72	0.03	1.14		0.10	0.09	0.01	***	0.17	0.16	0.01	***	0.11	0.00

Table 4-10 OLS robust cluster regressions for the relationship of contact, openness to classroom discussion, student-teacher relationships and interactions with students' attitudes toward equal rights for immigrants, with demographic controls, in 22 countries of the EU.

	CONSTANT			SGENDER			IMMIGR			NISB			IMMIGM			OPDISC			OPCLXIMM			STUTREL			STREXIMM											
IDCNTRY	Coeff	s.e.		Coeff	Std Coeff	s.e.	Coeff	Std Coeff	s.e.	Coeff	Std Coeff	s.e.	Coeff	Std Coeff	s.e.	Coeff	Std Coeff	s.e.	Coeff	Std Coeff	s.e.	Coeff	Std Coeff	s.e.	Coeff	Std Coeff	s.e.	R square	s.e.							
Austria	30.35	1.73	***	3.14	0.14	0.45	***	7.44	0.27	0.56	***	1.48	0.13	0.24	***	14.45	0.26	7.70	0.08	0.08	0.03	**	0.07	0.06	0.11	0.21	0.20	0.03	***	-0.31	-0.29	0.10	**	0.16	0.02	
	31.12	1.82	***	2.31	0.13	0.37	***	6.13	0.21	0.71	***	0.51	0.06	0.24	*	4.41	0.08	6.09	0.06	0.06	0.03	*	0.14	0.13	0.11	0.20	0.20	0.03	***	-0.16	-0.14	0.13		0.13	0.01	
Belgium (Flemish)																																				
Bulgaria	36.25	1.84	***	1.32	0.07	0.36	***	5.35	0.05	3.06		1.02	0.10	0.20	***	168.56	0.33	139.92	0.13	0.13	0.02	***	-2.72	-0.26	1.83	0.17	0.16	0.03	***	-1.07	-0.11	1.41		0.07	0.01	
Cyprus	31.11	2.16	***	4.09	0.19	0.40	***	2.85	0.07	0.77	***	0.73	0.07	0.20	***	19.89	0.14	19.41	0.17	0.17	0.03	***	-0.46	-0.18	0.24	0.16	0.16	0.03	***	0.11	0.03	0.27		0.12	0.02	
Czech Republic	35.30	1.91	***	2.01	0.12	0.30	***	4.98	0.09	0.83	***	0.46	0.05	0.14	***	-44.54	-0.17	70.08	0.09	0.09	0.04	*	0.21	0.04	1.46	0.15	0.15	0.02	***	0.69	0.13	0.60		0.08	0.01	
Denmark	32.35	1.46	***	2.30	0.12	0.40	***	7.56	0.23	0.70	***	1.36	0.15	0.16	***	18.20	0.27	10.21	0.11	0.12	0.02	***	-0.01	-0.01	0.15	0.15	0.15	0.02	***	-0.25	-0.20	0.13		0.14	0.01	
England	27.99	1.83	***	2.20	0.10	0.42	***	6.50	0.22	0.75	***	1.17	0.11	0.22	***	0.52	0.01	7.50	0.07	0.07	0.02	**	0.14	0.15	0.12	0.25	0.21	0.04	***	-0.10	-0.09	0.11		0.16	0.01	
Estonia	37.41	1.80	***	1.98	0.12	0.32	***	1.11	0.03	0.76		0.22	0.03	0.20		12.99	0.17	13.91	0.02	0.02	0.03		0.09	0.06	0.21	0.15	0.14	0.03	***	-0.02	-0.01	0.23		0.09	0.02	
Finland	28.81	1.70	***	5.13	0.26	0.41	***	7.62	0.12	1.24	***	0.80	0.08	0.16	***	5.04	0.03	23.44	0.08	0.06	0.03	**	0.16	0.05	0.33	0.26	0.22	0.03	***	-0.13	-0.04	0.38		0.17	0.02	
Greece	34.24	2.11	***	2.85	0.14	0.37	***	4.54	0.14	0.66	***	1.01	0.10	0.21	***	-10.38	-0.11	12.84	0.18	0.16	0.04	***	0.02	0.01	0.34	0.13	0.13	0.04	**	0.10	0.06	0.29		0.11	0.01	
Ireland	32.82	1.54	***	2.49	0.12	0.37	***	5.54	0.18	0.75	***	0.91	0.09	0.18	***	5.89	0.07	10.79	0.09	0.10	0.03	***	0.08	0.05	0.17	0.21	0.20	0.03	***	-0.22	-0.13	0.15		0.13	0.01	
Italy	29.97	1.77	***	1.63	0.09	0.35	***	8.35	0.23	0.59	***	0.73	0.08	0.20	***	-16.52	-0.17	15.89	0.16	0.15	0.03	***	0.01	0.00	0.28	0.18	0.18	0.02	***	0.16	0.08	0.27		0.14	0.01	
Latvia	33.05	1.84	***	1.00	0.06	0.32	**	0.58	0.02	1.13		-0.19	-0.02	0.19		43.75	0.52	22.52	0.09	0.09	0.04	*	-0.08	-0.05	0.26	0.18	0.19	0.02	***	-0.61	-0.35	0.24	*	0.07	0.01	
Lithuania	41.55	1.63	***	1.89	0.11	0.36	***	0.86	0.01	1.15		0.89	0.10	0.14	***	6.03	0.04	12.35	0.07	0.07	0.02	**	0.30	0.10	0.23	0.10	0.10	0.02	***	-0.31	-0.11	0.18		0.05	0.01	
Luxembourg	39.99	3.40	***	2.11	0.10	0.36	***	6.23	0.29	0.40	***	-0.13	-0.01	0.18		-7.23	-0.13	7.88	0.03	0.03	0.06		0.14	0.14	0.10	0.15	0.14	0.05	**	-0.03	-0.03	0.13		0.13	0.01	
Malta	37.28	3.23	***	2.55	0.12	0.53	***	4.37	0.06	2.34		0.08	0.01	0.29		-116.36	-0.26	125.44	0.01	0.00	0.05		-0.21	-0.02	1.60	0.19	0.20	0.04	***	2.47	0.29	1.59		0.08	0.02	
Netherlands	28.48	2.01	***	2.62	0.14	0.63	***	8.40	0.31	1.61	***	0.69	0.08	0.24	**	-4.94	-0.09	11.61	0.05	0.05	0.03		0.11	0.10	0.10	0.25	0.22	0.03	***	0.01	0.01	0.23		0.19	0.03	
Poland	40.36	1.51	***	2.35	0.13	0.31	***	0.10	0.00	1.68		0.73	0.08	0.15	***	-56.04	-0.18	47.51	0.05	0.05	0.02	*	0.79	0.13	0.65	0.13	0.13	0.02	***	0.28	0.04	1.05		0.06	0.01	
Slovak Republic	36.16	1.86	***	1.14	0.07	0.40	**	3.70	0.04	1.99		0.69	0.08	0.24	**	61.53	0.14	72.82	0.12	0.12	0.03	***	-2.07	-0.24	0.98	0.15	0.16	0.03	***	0.95	0.11	1.18		0.06	0.01	
Slovenia	32.62	2.02	***	2.80	0.14	0.40	***	2.74	0.08	0.60	***	0.30	0.03	0.20		15.62	0.17	14.40	0.15	0.14	0.03	***	-0.06	-0.03	0.20	0.17	0.15	0.04	***	-0.19	-0.10	0.24		0.09	0.01	
Spain	38.89	2.15	***	0.72	0.03	0.44		6.37	0.19	0.68	***	1.05	0.10	0.23	***	-15.96	-0.21	11.78	0.09	0.08	0.03	**	0.06	0.04	0.16	0.13	0.12	0.03	***	0.26	0.18	0.12	*	0.08	0.01	
Sweden	28.02	2.18	***	3.92	0.16	0.47	***	9.05	0.26	0.83	***	1.86	0.16	0.26	***	26.31	0.42	5.65	***	0.12	0.10	0.03	***	-0.07	-0.06	0.09	0.26	0.22	0.04	***	-0.32	-0.27	0.11	**	0.21	0.02
Table Average	33.82	0.43	***	2.39	0.121	0.09	***	5.02	0.140	0.27	***	0.74	0.075	0.04	***	5.96	0.061	10.26	0.09	0.088	0.01	***	-0.15	0.010	0.14	0.18	0.170	0.01	***	0.06	-0.042	0.13		0.11	0.00	

Intercultural Attitudes among Adolescents across Europe: a Multi-Level, Multiple-Group Analysis Examining Student Attitudes, Intergroup Contact, and School Climate

European nations, built on democratic foundations, rely on participation that is inclusive of all groups. Among efforts to support social cohesion in Europe, investigating the development of intercultural attitudes—attitudes toward others on the basis of their intersecting group memberships—is a crucial area of research. Further, examining attitudes among adolescents is useful because of their growing capacity to understand complex systems, while still being engaged in formal education in which interventions aimed at developing positive attitudes are often applied. In this paper, I used data from the 2009 IEA ICCS (International Civic and Citizenship Education Study) to examine determinants of intercultural attitudes among adolescents (n=16,847) in seven countries across Europe—the United Kingdom (England only), Sweden, Switzerland, Spain, Bulgaria, Poland, and Greece—focusing on cultural contexts and school climates. I examined the ways in which intergroup contact, gender, and school climates were associated with intergroup attitudes across these seven countries. I found limited evidence of an association between native-born and immigrant contact and positive intercultural attitudes. However, I found that positive intercultural attitudes were consistently associated with positive and democratic school climates, as well as with gender and attitudes toward gender equality. In this study, I present these findings, as well as provide interpretation, discussion, and future directions with regard to educational intervention

Chapter 5: **INTERCULTURAL ATTITUDES AMONG ADOLESCENTS ACROSS EUROPE: A MULTI-LEVEL, MULTIPLE-GROUP ANALYSIS EXAMINING STUDENT ATTITUDES, INTERGROUP CONTACT, AND SCHOOL CLIMATE**

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1. Introduction

Intercultural conflict is an area of serious international concern, and this is particularly true in Europe where freedom of movement is a fundamental right afforded to EU citizens (Europa, EU Charter of Fundamental Rights, 2000). Further, the political power and relative economic stability of the EU has greatly increased its attractiveness as a migration destination. Thus, its formation has brought increased immigration flows to Europe (European Commission, 2009), with nearly 1.7 million immigrants settling in Europe in 2012 (European Commission, 2015). These migration and immigration flows have brought groups of a variety of national, cultural, language, and religious backgrounds together across Europe, in contexts which are different historically, politically, and socially.

Intergroup contact raises challenges due to its association at times with intergroup conflict and hostility, which can lead to exclusion, and vice versa. However, democratic societies rely on political participation--including but not limited to voting--and social inclusion. The inclusion of all groups is not secondary, but rather central, to the proper functioning of democratic societies. Attitudes toward minority groups influence the participation of minority groups in civic life, as either conduits or barriers. For example, Khanec and Tosun (2009) found that the perception of negative attitudes toward immigrants in Germany discouraged foreign residents from civic participation and this effect was stronger among those who were active in the labor market and have more years of schooling.

In this paper, I examine the potential role of schooling in the intergroup attitudes that young people in Europe had in 2009, using data from the large-scale 2009 IEA (International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement) International

Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) (IEA, 2009; Schulz., Ainley, Fraillon, Kerr, & Losito, 2009). I define intergroup attitudes as attitudes that members of a group have, on average or individually, toward other cultural groups, on the basis of both their own various intersecting group memberships as well as those of others. I use the term intergroup, as opposed to intercultural, however I also emphasize the central concept of culture in understanding groups, described below.

There have been several related areas of research in social and developmental psychology since the 1970s that have sought to understand intercultural attitudes. Intercultural processes (within social psychology) have been an active area of research, especially group formation and intergroup relations, such as in-group formation (see Tajfel, & Turner, 1979; Brown, 1995/2010) and out-group derogation (see Brewer, 2007; Corenblum & Stephan, 2001; Bennett, Barrett, Karakozov, Kipiani, Lyons, Pavlenko, & Riazanova, 2004). It is further essential that these approaches make sources of difference explicit in sufficient detail, rather than assuming that the development of intergroup attitudes is the same across contexts. In the field of cultural context in human developmental psychology, cultural forces that shape human development have been explored in greater depth, often making sources of difference explicit and detailed (Torney-Purta & Amadeo, 2011; Torney-Purta & Barber, 2011). However, these models have not focused on group processes in the development of intergroup attitudes.

Integrating research on cultural context as it relates to intercultural attitudes would foster greater understanding of the influence of culture in this process. Not enough work has been done to integrate these approaches by utilizing organizing models from a comparative perspective. Thus, this study fills current gaps in knowledge by focusing on the development of intercultural attitudes among young people in cross-cultural, comparative perspective. It uses an integrated theoretical developmental model that is helpful to make explicit the role of national and local contexts, daily interactions, and adult beliefs in the development of intercultural attitudes among adolescents, specifically within schools (Torney-Purta. & Amadeo, 2011; Torney-Purta, & Barber, 2011). It further uses a cultural model that is helpful to understand the role of cultural tools and narrative in making sense of the self, versus the other (Haste & Abrahams, 2008).

Central to this work is a consideration of culture as organizing the developmental environment of young people (Super & Harkness, 1986; Super & Harkness, 2002; Van de

Vijver & Poortinga, 2002). The developmental niche as presented by Torney-Purta and colleagues (2011) is a useful overarching framework to incorporate national-level forces, as well as the lived experiences of young people in schools and attitudes of adults. In addition to large cultural systems at the national level, it is understood in this analysis that schools both operate within the larger culture and have cultures of their own. Further, schools as communities of practice (see Lave and Wenger, 2002), in which the goal is to foster the full participation of young people in society, have an important role to play in the development of positive intercultural attitudes when the school community is both positive and democratic. *Schools are a site where the norms and values of society are practiced and transmitted, both explicitly and implicitly, as well as sites where these norms are anticipated and even challenged.* Finally, a cultural model (Haste & Abrahams, 2008) provides a system for understanding the role of cultural tools and narratives in the development of intergroup attitudes.

Policy makers and educators have some control over schools, thus schools have the potential to be a lever for reducing intolerance. Given the developmental nature of intergroup attitudes, a continued focus on young people could support successful interventions that promote positive intergroup attitudes, as these attitudes begin to develop from a young age. (Aboud, Tredoux, Tropp, Brown, Niens & Noor, 2012; Raabe & Beelman, 2011). Within this frame, I explored the association of intergroup attitudes toward various groups—immigrants, racial and ethnic minorities, and migrants—with young people’s experience of positive and democratic climates at schools.

2. Empirically examining intercultural attitudes cross-culturally

In this study, I conducted a secondary analysis of the IEA (2009) civic education data. I focused on attitudes of native-born adolescents toward varied groups: immigrants, racial and ethnic minorities, and migrants within Europe. I examined intergroup attitudes toward this range of groups, rather than toward any one group solely, in order to consider how intergroup attitudes might be different, or similar, depending on target groups. I focused only on attitudes of native students, in order to most clearly examine the views of a dominant majority to minority groups.

The countries that I selected were the United Kingdom (however, data were collected only in England, and not in Scotland, Wales, or Northern Ireland—this is the only group included which does not provide representative data across the entire country, and therefore will be referred to as England), Sweden, Poland, Bulgaria, Spain, Switzerland, and Greece. These seven groups provide coverage across regions in Europe: England in

Western Europe, Sweden in Northern Europe, Switzerland in Central Europe, Spain and Greece in Mediterranean Europe, and Poland and Bulgaria in Eastern Europe.

These countries and England represent a range of migration rates. Bulgaria, Greece and Poland had low migration rates in 2009 when these data were collected, while Spain and Sweden had high migration rates (Eurostat, 2009). The affluence of the seven countries also varies. The countries range from very low (Bulgaria and Poland) to very high (Switzerland and Sweden) per-capita GDP (Eurostat, 2009). However, starting in 2007 and reaching extremes in 2009, the year of this study, nearly all countries experienced large negative changes in GDP. The political climate around the time of this study was most restrictive toward immigrants in Switzerland and that this climate had been in place for decades, while a new, growing sentiment was taking place in Bulgaria (NSD European Election Database). However, the political climate represented by more than half of the voting adults in each of the countries in this set was moderate. The countries selected also represent a range of openness to migration across national policies reported by the Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX). MIPEX collects data across several areas—labor market mobility, family reunion, education, political participation, long term residence, anti-discrimination, and access to nationality—and compiles scores in each area into an overall score. Sweden was the highest country in this set in 2010 and Spain was the second-highest country in overall score. The United Kingdom, while as high as Spain in 2007, dropped considerably in 2010. Out of all of the countries in the set, Switzerland had the lowest MIPEX score both in 2007 and in 2010. Finally, in the set of countries in this paper, the democracies in Bulgaria and Poland are the most recent, since 1989 after the end of communist rule in these countries. In Spain, the current democratic system has been in place since 1979 and the end of totalitarian rule in this country. And further, in Greece, the current democratic system has been in place since 1975 after a period of civil war which began after serious losses during resistance to the Nazis in WWII. Switzerland, Sweden, and the United Kingdom, are long-standing democracies in this group of countries.

In summary, the countries in this analysis represent a wide range of history, economic conditions, political climate, and migration rates, which will be useful to contextualize the findings of this study, discussed below. Having such a range provides opportunities to understand how national contexts play a part in the development of intercultural attitudes among young people. Economic climate is helpful to understand the relationship of threat

to intergroup attitudes as well. History and political climate also provide insight into the openness of national contexts to issues of immigration and equality along many lines, including gender equality. This information sets the stage for the study which took place in 2009.

2.1. Data

I used data from the 2009 IEA (International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement) ICCS (International Civic and Citizenship Education Study) (IEA, 2009; Schultz, et. al, 2009). The IEA ICCS (2009) study was based on a previous civic education undertaken by the IEA in 1999, CIVED, which took highly rigorous steps to ensure the validity of the survey (Torney-Purta et al, 2001). The 1999 CIVED study was based on a two-stage design. In the first stage, extensive qualitative studies and case studies were undertaken in each of the participating countries to examine the meaning of civic-related constructs, including intercultural attitudes (Torney-Purta, Schwille & Amadeo, 1999). From these qualitative studies, survey instruments were developed in meetings with National Research Coordinators (Torney-Purta et al, 2001). The participating countries also pre-piloted and piloted preliminary forms of the instruments. The 1999 CIVED study included 28 countries and sampled about 90,000 adolescents, 9,000 teachers, and 4,000 school principals. The instrument was written in English, translated into 22 languages, and then returned to the National Research Coordinators for checking (Torney-Purta et al, 2001).

In the IEA ICCS (2009) study, civic knowledge, skills and attitudes were measured for 14-year olds across the world. The ICCS study sampled over 140,000 students, in more than 5,300 schools across 38 countries. National-level policy experts, teachers and school principals also responded to surveys providing contextual information. The study included a European module, which asked further questions relevant to Europe, the EU, and European identity (Schultz, et. al, 2009), as well as Latin American and Asian modules. The sampling design of this study was a stratified, two-stage probability sampling design, which was similar to other large-scale IEA studies such as PIRLS and TIMSS (Schulz, Ainley, and Fraillon, 2011).

Only students who reported that they, as well as their parents, were born in the country of the test were included in this subsample, excluding both immigrant and second-generation youth from the sample. I used the data from seven of the European countries that

participated in both the main study and the European module (n=16,847). The countries included in this study were the United Kingdom (however, data were collected only in England, and not in Scotland, Wales, or Northern Ireland—this is the only group included which does not provide representative data across the entire country, and therefore will be referred to as England) (n=2,015), Sweden (n=2,434), Poland (n=3,166), Bulgaria (n=3,138), Spain (n=2,732), Switzerland (n=1,643), and Greece (n=2,510). At traditional levels of Type I error (.05), with the analytic methods used, this sample size far exceeded that needed to detect small effects (<.1 st dev) at high power (.90).

In my analyses, I incorporated elements of the complex survey design, and included schools as clusters as well as student sampling weights. To improve accuracy of standard errors, is important to compensate for the differing probabilities of selection at the school, class, and student levels, thus the weights that were used were a product of factors that reflect these probabilities (Brese, Jung, Mirazchiyski, Schulz & Zuelke, 2011), rescaled so that each country contributed equally. All analyses were conducted in Mplus v. 7.3 (*Mplus*, 2014; Muthén, & Muthén, 1998-2015) and STATA 13 (StataCorp, 2013).

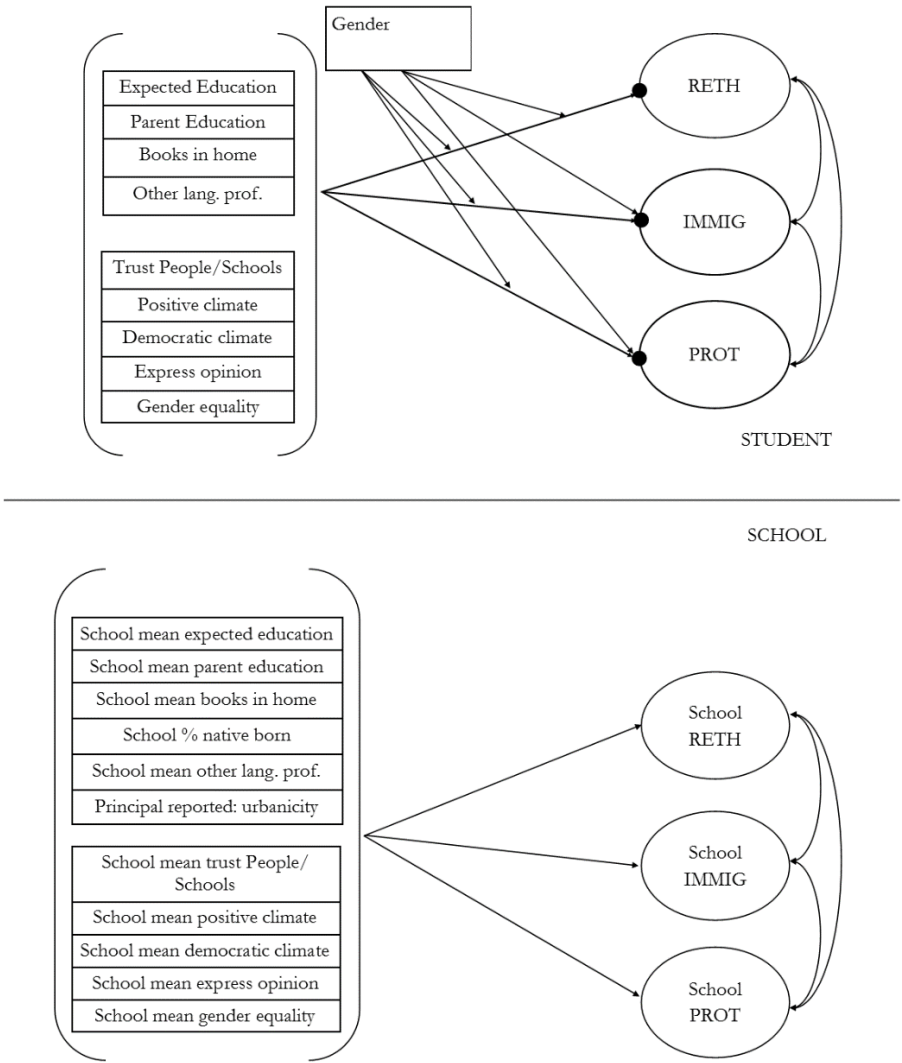
2.2. Methods and Measures

Associations at the individual- and school-levels were examined in a multi-level, multi-group structural equation model, with the focus being on the school experiences to enable greater understanding of the school practices and how they relate to intercultural attitudes. Using a multi-group modeling approach was helpful to be able to determine whether, and to what extent, the associations of interest vary across countries, by estimating these paths in each country (Asparouhov & Muthén, 2012). Using a multi-level approach was helpful to be able to estimate associations at both the within-level (student-level) and the between-level (school-level) simultaneously (Raudenbush & Bryk, 2002). This allowed me to control for effects at the school-level when interpreting the effects at the individual-level, and vice versa. It also allowed me to examine the variance explained at the individual-level compared to the school level and to examine the proportion of variance that is between groups.

A model of these associations is shown in Figure 1; this model was tested simultaneously in the seven contexts described above. In this figure, the predictors are shown using boxes on the left and the latent factors which are the outcomes of interest are shown using ovals on the right. Correlations between the factors are shown by double-headed arrows. The

associations that are estimated are shown by single-headed arrows pointing from the observed predictors toward each latent factor.

Figure 5-1 Multi-level theoretical and statistical model of associations with attitudes toward immigrants (IMMIG), racial and ethnic minorities (RETH), and protectionist attitudes toward migration (PROT), at the individual- and school-levels.



In a previous analysis, I found sufficient evidence of measurement invariance to allow the comparison of factor means and associations (Higdon, in preparation). Following from that research, I used multiple imputation in the Bayesian framework to impute ten sets of plausible values of the factor scores for each student that measured the three different

intergroup attitudes of interest: attitudes toward immigrants (IMMIG), racial and ethnic minorities (RETH), and protectionist attitudes toward migration (PROT). The means of the set of plausible values in each of the factors were used as the outcomes of interest in this analysis.

The predictors that were chosen relate to the individual context and school contexts, as well as student-level reflection on the school environment. Background characteristics such as expected education, parent education, and home literacy resources, were included in this model as controls, because these characteristics have the potential to confound the relationships of interest in this study. I included these controls at the student-level and the school-level, by including the school means as predictors. I further included language proficiency as a control because the study of other languages, and dialogue in other languages, is an important way that young people gain access to other cultural tools and narratives. Finally, gender is included as a moderator and as directly relating to intercultural attitudes. Some research studies found gender differences in intercultural attitudes (Husfeldt, 2006; Coenders & Scheepers, 2002; Coenders, Lubbers & Scheepers, 2009; Barber, Fennelly, Torney-Purta, 2013) while others did not (Gorodzeisky & Semyonov, 2009; Evans & Need, 2002). Many studies typically use as a control and do not directly interpret these results, however this is a specific area of focus in this analysis.

Democratic and positive school climates are measured at both the student- and school-levels, through three scales that are available in the IEA (2009) data, which are described in greater detail in the measures section, below. These measures are included in order to examine whether, and to what extent, positive and democratic school communities of practice are associated with intercultural attitudes. Communities of practice enable young people to come to understand the intercultural attitudes of adults as well as gain practice in the use of cultural narratives as tools to make sense of relations between groups. Further, these communities provide space to practice the civic skills of democratic participation and dialogue necessary in inclusive societies, and potentially conversely in communities that are not democratic or positive, to learn to behave and think in an exclusionary manner.

Finally, two interpersonal attitudes were included in this model as well: trust in people and schools, and attitudes toward gender equality. Trust in people and in schools, as a component of communities of practice, are important measures of openness to the community. As discussed above, Torney-Purta and Barber (2011) found a cluster of young

people, who they called “alienated” who had extremely negative views toward immigrants and low trust in government. They postulated that these young people “seemed alienated from belief in the rights of others as well as lacking trust in government” (page 477). Because the focus of this paper is on schools as communities of practice, variables that measure trust in people and trust in schools were used instead, however the logic for their inclusion is along the same lines.

School means were included in the school-level component of the model to determine whether, above and beyond the school experiences that individual students reported, there was an additional association with overall school levels of these same measures. Additionally, two school-context variables were included: the percent of students who were born in the country (percent native born) in each school and urbanicity. Including the percent native born enabled the exploration of this element of diversity at the school level, with the supposition that schools with more non-native born students would enable greater levels of contact. Urbanicity is included here as well, because it is likely that contact, both directly in schools and indirectly through access to more diversity in the community, is greater in larger communities.

Among the countries included in this analysis, there was variation in the number of schools with higher percentages of non-native born students, summarized in Table 2. In all of the countries, the mean of the percent native-born in each country was quite high, with a mean of 89% native-born as the lowest value, in Spain. This indicates that there was, overall, not a high amount of diversity in terms of non-native born students in these countries at the time of this survey. Indeed in Bulgaria and Poland, the mean reached 99% in both countries, with minimum values of 90% and 88%, respectively, indicating high levels of homogeneity. In Spain and in Greece, the minimum percentages of non-native born students was much lower, with 11% in each country. In these countries, while most schools were rather homogenous in terms of native-born students, there are some schools that were homogenous in terms of non-native born students.

The number of private and public schools in each context are also given in Table 1. In all contexts except for Spain, the number of private schools included was quite low, with only 3-8 private schools included in Bulgaria, Greece, Poland, and England. While the public or private school status likely has relevance to the daily lived experience of adolescents in schools, it was unfortunately not possible to include this measure in this analysis, because

the number of private schools was too low. However, the measure of the size of the community, relevant because intergroup contact and exposure was likely higher in larger towns and cities, showed a greater variation, with adequate numbers of schools in each category, and was included in this analysis as a control at the school level.

Table 5-1 Frequency of public and private schools, frequency of schools by community size, and summary statistics regarding the proportion of native-born students, in each of the seven countries.

	Bulgaria	Greece	Poland	Spain	Sweden	Switz.	England
public	155	117	144	99	127	33	90
private	3	8	6	44	22	119	7
missing data	0	28	0	5	14	2	19
a village, hamlet or small rural area (fewer than 3,000)	30	18	48	8	23	30	18
A small town (3,000 to about 15,000)	26	26	32	31	32	63	10
A town (15,000 to about 100,000)	54	46	36	55	54	34	22
A city (100,000 to about 1,000,000)	28	10	32	37	28	13	34
A large city (over 1,000,000)	20	21	2	13	12	0	21
missing data	0	32	0	4	14	14	11
Mean % native born	0.99	0.90	0.99	0.89	0.92	0.90	0.93
sd	0.02	0.11	0.02	0.13	0.10	0.09	0.08
min	0.90	0.11	0.88	0.11	0.42	0.41	0.60
max	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00

Positive climate is measured by a student-teacher relations scale that includes five items such as “students get along well with most teachers” and “most teachers are interested in students’ well-being” (see Schulz & Sibberns, 2004 for a discussion of the scales). This scale captures the positive community of practice which was theorized earlier in this paper to be associated with positive intercultural attitudes. Democratic climate was measured by two scales: the value of participation in school and openness in classroom discussions. The value of participation in school was measured by five items such as “student participation in how schools are run can make schools better” and “lots of positive changes can happen when students work together.” Openness in classroom discussion was measured by five items comprising a scale such as “teachers encourage students to make up their own minds” and “teachers encourage students to express their opinions.”

While no single covariate had a large degree of missing responses, the set of covariates with missing responses resulted in data loss just over 25%, as adolescents had missing data on at least one of the covariate variables, and quite a few schools had principal data that were missing. Thus, as a preliminary step, I created multiply imputed data sets using Bayesian multiple imputation methods (Enders, 2010) with replaced the missing data with plausible values over ten imputations. The resultant multiply imputed data sets were used in the multi-group multi-level model that followed, which enabled me to include every native-born adolescent who responded to this questionnaire in this analysis.

In this analysis, I fit a series of multiple-group multi-level models, beginning with the unconditional model and progressing through a series of models with covariates added at each level (as recommended by Raudenbush & Bryk, 2002). I tracked the loglikelihood, AIC, and BIC across each model, which helped evaluate that the inclusion of each set of covariates added explanatory power to the model. In the case where a significant interaction was found, I further tested whether at least one interaction term was statistically significant using Wald tests. Finally, in the penultimate model, I tested the statistical significance of the differences between pairs of countries on the associations between each covariate and each outcome using Wald tests, and by estimating the differences with new parameters in *Mplus* v. 7.3. Wald tests that were not significant indicated that there were no statistically significant differences between the countries on the association between that covariate and the outcome, and in these cases the estimates for that covariate were constrained to be equal. In some cases, where the Wald test was significant, the statistical significance of each pairwise difference was examined. Using the Šidák correction (Šidák, 1967; Abdi, 2007) for comparison tests among multiple groups, which corrects for the increased Type 1 error inherent in so many tests, an alpha-value of .006 ($p < .006$) was necessary to establish significant differences. Ultimately, groups with statistically significant differences at this alpha level were freely estimated, and groups without statistically significant differences were constrained to be equal.

3. Results

The results of this analysis are presented in a series of tables, Tables 2-4. Each outcome is presented separately, which was necessary given the number groups included. These tables show the standardized estimates and the corresponding p-values. Given that the measures are on many different metrics, tracking and comparing the unstandardized estimates is

cumbersome. The standardized estimates support ease of comparison across covariates, groups, and outcomes. Thus, these estimates will be used in model interpretation. The shaded rows indicate the estimates constrained to be equal in the unstandardized model, discussed above. All models presented and discussed here control for expected education, parent education, home literacy resources, and European language proficiency at the individual level, and urbanicity at the school level. Given the multiple comparisons that were made in this analysis, the Šidák correction was used to establish a p-value of $<.006$ as indicating statistical significance. In the tables, this is indicated by the triple-asterisk.

Table 5-2 Multi-level standardized estimates, predicting attitudes toward immigrants (IMMIG).

	Bulgaria		Greece		Poland		Spain		Sweden		Switzerland		England	
	est.	p	est.	p	est.	p	est.	P	est.	p	est.	P	est.	p
<i>Within-level</i>														
Expected education	0.043	***	0.034	***	0.042	***	0.047	***	0.024	***	0.038	***	0.029	***
Highest parent ed.	0.025	**	0.030	**	0.030	**	0.030	**	0.018	**	0.027	**	0.022	**
Books in the home	0.016	ns	0.015	ns	-0.030	ns	-0.023	ns	0.072	**	0.014	ns	0.064	**
Gender	0.405	**	0.34	**	0.541	***	0.602	***	0.935	***	0.367	ns	0.619	***
Eur. lang. prof.	0.027	*	0.026	*	0.026	*	0.025	*	0.014	*	0.022	*	0.020	*
Trust - people	0.024	ns	0.063	***	0.056	***	0.057	***	0.032	***	0.101	***	0.043	***
Trust - schools	0.054	***	0.061	***	0.010	ns	0.052	***	0.101	***	0.054	***	0.043	***
Stu.-tea. rel. - Scale	0.082	***	0.094	***	0.088	***	0.089	***	0.057	***	0.081	***	0.067	***
Value of part. - Scale	0.073	***	0.081	***	0.078	***	0.070	***	0.045	***	0.064	***	0.054	***
Opp. for disc. - Scale	0.047	***	0.045	***	0.049	***	0.042	***	0.028	***	0.04	***	0.039	***
Gender eq. - Scale	0.143	***	0.378	***	0.225	***	0.262	***	0.314	***	0.286	***	0.283	***
Int: Gen. and gen. eq.	-0.322	*	-0.371	**	-0.496	***	-0.600	***	-0.858	***	-0.286	ns	-0.632	***
<i>Between-level</i>														
Urbanicity	0.083	ns	0.064	ns	0.053	ns	0.054	ns	0.026	ns	0.034	ns	0.031	ns
% native born	0.003	ns	0.014	ns	0.004	ns	0.018	ns	0.005	ns	0.008	ns	0.006	ns
Mean trust - people	0.207	ns	0.125	ns	0.103	ns	0.122	ns	0.047	ns	0.095	ns	0.058	ns
Mean trust - schools	-0.059	ns	-0.040	ns	-0.044	ns	-0.034	ns	-0.014	ns	-0.028	ns	-0.017	ns
Mean stu.-tea. rel. - Scale	-0.096	ns	-0.062	ns	-0.052	ns	-0.064	ns	-0.031	ns	-0.046	ns	-0.030	ns
Mean value of part. - Scale	-0.514	*	0.477	**	0.283	*	0.261	~	0.060	ns	0.093	ns	0.076	ns
Mean opp. for disc. - Scale	0.528	*	-0.041	ns	-0.038	ns	-0.041	ns	-0.022	ns	-0.673	***	-0.027	ns
Mean gender eq. - Scale	0.310	~	0.298	**	0.190	**	0.253	**	0.099	**	0.199	**	0.140	**
R ² : Within	0.078		0.202		0.109		0.117		0.196		0.176		0.127	
R ² : Between	0.570		0.400		0.189		0.204		0.018		0.469		0.035	
~p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01 ***p<.001														

Table 5-3 Multi-level model standardized estimates, predicting attitudes toward racial and ethnic minorities (RETH)

	Bulgaria		Greece		Poland		Spain		Sweden		Switzerland		England	
	est.	p	est.	p	est.	p	est.	p	est.	p	est.	p	est.	p
<i>Within-level</i>														
Expected education	0.042	**	0.038	**	0.037	**	0.05	**	0.023	**	0.039	**	0.028	**
Highest parent ed.	0.021	*	0.029	*	0.022	*	0.027	*	0.015	*	0.024	*	0.018	*
Books in the home	-0.014	ns	-0.015	ns	-0.012	ns	-0.013	ns	-0.013	ns	-0.012	ns	0.047	~
Gender	0.397	**	0.294	*	0.252	~	0.307	*	0.653	***	0.073	ns	0.092	ns
Eur. lang. prof.	0.023	~	0.026	~	0.020	~	0.023	~	0.012	~	0.02	~	0.016	~
Trust - people	0.076	***	0.090	***	0.063	***	0.076	***	0.039	***	0.063	***	0.052	***
Trust - schools	0.099	***	0.055	*	0.102	***	0.103	***	0.156	***	0.106	***	0.076	***
Stu.-tea. rel. - Scale	0.064	***	0.085	***	0.061	***	0.075	***	0.044	***	0.067	***	0.051	***
Value of part. - Scale	0.094	***	0.065	**	0.140	***	0.085	***	0.05	***	0.077	***	0.059	***
Opp. for disc. - Scale	0.067	***	0.074	***	0.062	***	0.064	***	0.038	***	0.060	***	0.053	***
Gender eq. - Scale	0.151	***	0.325	***	0.152	***	0.183	***	0.266	***	0.239	***	0.167	***
Int: Gen. and gen. eq.	-0.277	*	-0.311	*	-0.220	ns	-0.260	~	-0.596	***	-0.045	ns	-0.064	ns
<i>Between-level</i>														
Urbanicity	0.097	ns	0.126	ns	0.12	ns	0.152	ns	0.11	ns	0.079	ns	0.093	ns
% native born	-0.001	ns	-0.010	ns	-0.003	ns	-0.019	ns	-0.007	ns	-0.007	ns	-0.006	ns
Mean trust - people	0.122	ns	0.124	ns	0.118	ns	0.172	ns	0.102	ns	0.110	ns	0.087	ns
Mean trust - schools	-0.079	ns	-0.090	ns	-0.115	ns	-0.107	ns	-0.067	ns	-0.074	ns	-0.058	ns
Mean stu.-tea. rel. - Scale	0.732	***	-0.286	ns	0.157	ns	0.238	ns	0.175	ns	0.141	ns	0.118	ns
Mean value of part. - Scale	0.627	***	0.166	ns	0.192	ns	0.307	ns	0.191	ns	0.158	ns	0.413	*
Mean opp. for disc. - Scale	-0.108	ns	0.284	~	-0.106	ns	-0.14	ns	-0.114	ns	-0.431	*	-0.097	ns
Mean gender eq. - Scale	0.255	***	0.415	***	0.304	**	0.499	**	0.299	~	0.322	**	0.294	**
R ² : Within	0.119		0.176		0.135		0.133		0.168		0.155		0.109	
R ² : Between	0.686		0.466		0.233		0.597		0.213		0.27		0.41	
~p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01 ***p<.001														

Table 5-4 Multi-level standardized estimates, predicting protectionist attitudes toward migration (PROT).

	Bulgaria		Greece		Poland		Spain		Sweden		Switzerland		England	
	est.	p	est.	p	est.	p	est.	p	est.	p	est.	p	est.	p
<i>Within-level</i>														
Expected education	-0.060	***	-0.039	***	-0.046	***	-0.050	***	-0.039	***	-0.046	***	-0.043	***
Highest parent ed.	-0.053	***	-0.051	***	-0.049	***	-0.048	***	-0.044	***	-0.048	***	-0.049	***
Books in the home	-0.056	***	-0.042	***	-0.043	***	-0.036	***	-0.037	***	-0.041	***	-0.048	***
Gender	-0.031	ns	0.037	ns	-0.092	***	-0.061	*	-0.071	**	-0.154	***	-0.007	ns
Eur. lang. prof.	-0.033	*	-0.026	*	-0.025	*	-0.023	*	-0.020	*	-0.023	*	-0.025	*
Trust – people	0.065	**	-0.007	ns	-0.006	ns	-0.006	ns	-0.005	ns	-0.055	ns	-0.006	ns
Trust – schools	-0.018	ns	-0.010	ns	-0.010	ns	-0.008	ns	-0.007	ns	0.090	**	-0.009	ns
Stu.-tea. rel. – Scale	-0.016	ns	-0.015	ns	-0.013	ns	-0.013	ns	-0.013	ns	-0.013	ns	-0.014	ns
Value of part. - Scale	0.045	***	0.040	***	0.037	***	0.033	***	0.032	***	0.034	***	0.035	***
Opp. for disc. - Scale	0.001	ns	0.001	ns	0.001	ns	0.001	ns	0.001	ns	0.001	ns	0.001	ns
Gender eq. – Scale	-0.234	***	-0.156	***	-0.198	***	-0.210	***	-0.181	***	-0.109	***	-0.085	*
<i>Between-level</i>														
Urbanicity	-0.181	*	-0.173	*	-0.128	~	-0.092	*	-0.171	*	-0.118	*	-0.179	~
% native born	0.005	ns	-0.083	ns	0.331	***	-0.375	*	0.026	ns	-0.295	~	0.026	ns
Mean trust - people	0.135	ns	0.101	ns	0.075	ns	0.061	ns	0.095	ns	0.098	ns	0.100	ns
Mean trust - schools	-0.082	ns	-0.069	ns	-0.068	ns	-0.036	ns	-0.059	ns	-0.062	ns	-0.063	ns
Mean stu.-tea. rel. - Scale	0.072	ns	0.058	ns	0.158	ns	0.037	ns	-0.422	*	0.054	ns	0.058	ns
Mean value of part. - Scale	-0.040	ns	-0.031	ns	-0.024	ns	-0.018	ns	-0.035	ns	-0.028	ns	-0.038	ns
Mean opp. for disc. - Scale	-0.096	ns	-0.241	~	-0.054	ns	-0.193	ns	-0.085	ns	0.600	***	-0.088	ns
Mean gender eq. - Scale	-0.247	**	-0.295	**	-0.169	**	-0.155	**	-0.242	**	-0.250	**	-0.292	**
R ² : Within	0.100		0.038		0.084		0.079		0.064		0.061		0.024	
R ² : Between	0.192		0.274		0.231		0.325		0.195		0.362		0.298	
~p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01 ***p<.001														

3.1. Positive and Democratic Communities of Practice

Trust in people and trust in schools were found to have positive associations with IMMIG and RETH, in nearly all of the groups, and the associations are stronger with regard to the RETH factor. The values of the associations range somewhat widely across groups, from .03 to .16, and the consistent positive direction suggests that feelings of trust in both people and schools are associated with positive intergroup attitudes across the seven countries. These effects are stronger in Sweden and Switzerland along the IMMIG factor and in Sweden along the RETH factor. For the most part, trust in people and in schools were not found to have an association with PROT, however. The exceptions to this finding were in Bulgaria and in Switzerland, where the effect was surprisingly positive, meaning that higher levels of trust were associated, on average, with more protectionism.

Positive and democratic school climates, measured by the student-teacher relations scale, the value of participation scale, and the opportunities for discussion scale, were found to be associated with positive views toward immigrants (IMMIG) and racial and ethnic minorities (RETH), to consistent degrees in all of the countries. Specifically, positive student-teacher relations had a fairly consistent association with IMMIG and RETH, with the strongest associations in Greece ($b=.094$) and the weakest associations in Sweden ($b=.057$) and England ($b=.067$), along both factors. Student-teacher relations were not found to be associated with PROT, however. Democratic school climates were measured with the two scales, value of participation at the school level and opportunities for discussion, and both of these scales were found to predict positive intergroup attitudes in both the IMMIG and RETH factors consistently in all of the groups. Among these two facets of democratic climates, the value of participation had somewhat higher associations (average $b=.064$ (IMMIG); average $b=.081$ (RETH)) than opportunities for discussion (average $b=.041$ (IMMIG); average $b=.059$ (RETH)). Interestingly, this association was highest along the RETH factor in Poland ($b=.140$). With regard to protectionist attitudes (PROT), opportunities for discussion were not found to have an association in any group. However, the value of participation was found to have a positive association with protectionism in all of the countries, with fairly consistent values. This means that higher levels of the value of democratic participation in school was found to be related to more protectionist attitudes, which was surprising.

3.2. Gender

Gender—both the gender of the adolescents and attitudes toward gender equality—were found to predict positive attitudes in both the IMMIG and RETH factors, and this finding was not consistent across the countries along any factor. With regards to the IMMIG factor, there was a positive association between gender and attitudes toward immigrants, such that girls, on average, had more positive views than boys, across the countries (average $b=.544$). In addition to student gender, attitudes toward gender equality also predicted positive attitudes toward immigrants, meaning that on average, adolescents who agree with equal treatment for women were more likely to have positive attitudes toward immigrants (average $b=.270$). Further, the significant interaction between gender and gender equality in Poland ($b=-.496$) and Spain ($b=-.600$) indicates that this association between attitudes toward gender equality and IMMIG was stronger for boys than for girls in these countries.

The association between gender and RETH was not consistently found, with a positive association found only in Sweden ($b=.653$), and Sweden was the only country where the interaction between gender and gender equality was found only ($b=-.596$), where the association between gender equality and RETH was stronger for boys than for girls. Along the PROT factor, gender was found to have a negative association in Poland and Switzerland ($b=-.092$ and $b=-.154$, respectively). In these countries, girls were found to have less protectionist attitudes than boys. However, a negative association was found between protectionist attitudes and attitudes toward gender equality consistently in all countries (average $b=-.167$), meaning that adolescents who had stronger views in favor of equal treatment for women had, on average, less protectionist views. The interaction between gender and attitudes toward gender equality was not found to be statistically significant in any of the countries along the PROT factor, and so it was not retained in the final model due to the added complexity that interactions introduce.

3.3. Contact

Overall, very few of the variables at the school-level of the statistical model were found to have significant associations with intergroup attitudes. Most notably, the measure of contact, the percent of students born in the country in each school, was not found to have a statistically significant association with positive intercultural attitudes in any country except for Poland ($b=.331$) within the PROT factor. This can be interpreted to mean that,

above and beyond the experiences related to school that students reported at the individual-level, generally school-level means, including percent native born, do not have an additional association with intergroup attitudes.

3.4. Limitations

There are several limitations inherent in this analysis. First, these survey data are observational and therefore my results cannot support causal inference. However, I believe that my findings will be informative and provide a substantial basis to support social cohesion projects and studies that will examine their causal effects in the future. Second, these data are cross-sectional and thus cannot support developmental inferences, but rather the presence of associations among 14-year olds. Further research using mixed-methods would be helpful to address development. Third, only seven countries were used in this study, thus my inferences are limited to those countries and should not be generalized to Europe as a whole. Fourth, the items measuring attitudes toward immigrants and migrants do not distinguish among countries of origin, which would potentially differ on this basis. These issues are problematic conceptually, but I believe my findings will inform future work that may help distinguish between these attitudes more clearly. Finally, while this study examines individual-level and school-level associations with intercultural attitudes, peer group effects are also important in understanding these attitudes (see Barber, Torney-Purta, Wilkenfeld, & Ross, 2015). However, peer effects could not be included here because they were not included in the study.

3.5. Discussion

The goal of this paper was to examine intercultural attitudes among native-born adolescents in Europe, toward migrant and immigrant groups, and racial and ethnic minorities, within the context of schools. To these ends, I brought together groups of theories to examine intercultural attitudes among adolescents in a way that integrated individual cognition with environmental context. My goal was not to prove or disprove theory or examine economic, macro-forces. Instead, I used theory to construct a model that enabled me to examine patterns of intercultural attitudes within contexts.

Overall, school-level factors were not associated consistently with intercultural attitudes. This may be due to very little variation at the school level, evidenced by the low intraclass correlations which ranged from .012-.068. This is keeping with similar findings in a study

of the explanatory power of school-level factors in civic attitudes and beliefs (Isac, Maslowski, Creemers, & van de Werf, 2013). This does not suggest that schools don't have a role to play in intercultural attitudes. Indeed, several of the individual-level variables that had significant associations were, in fact, reports of the school climate as experienced by students.

Through this examination, I found several factors that were associated with intergroup attitudes which are discussed below. Economic and educational background of adolescents were associated with intergroup attitudes, measured by expected education, parent education, and home literacy resources, which were included in this analysis as controls. These associations were consistent in degree across the contexts in this study. Integrated threat theory (Stephan, Renfro, Esses, Stephan & Martin, 2005; Stephan, Ybarra & Bachman, 2006) postulated that conditions of real or perceived threat leads to negative intergroup attitudes. This would translate in this study into a hypothesis that the associations between individual characteristics and intergroup attitudes vary by economic context. However evidence to support this was not found here, because the associations found were highly consistent. Shifting the emphasis from real or perceived threat to the *narrative of threat* found across contexts may be helpful to understand this result. While real and perceived economic and social conditions vary, the narrative of threat is more consistent and varies less from context to context.

These findings suggest that gender, and attitudes toward gender equality, have a potential and promising role to play in the ongoing development of intergroup attitudes. There is a clear connection between the protection of the human rights of women and girls, and the protection of the human rights of minority groups. It is very likely the case that young people who are willing to extend human rights to minority, immigrant and migrant groups would also be willing to extend human rights to women, and vice versa. The interesting finding that attitudes toward gender equality were associated with positive attitudes toward immigrants and racial and ethnic minorities, and that this association was stronger for boys than girls in some contexts, certainly suggests this possible connection. This is especially important because many schools lack diversity along native and non-native lines, which limits the experience of diversity in these schools. However, gender differences are central to the lived experience of young people in schools and their communities. From a very early age, young people are aware of pervasive inequality and stereotypes along the lines of

gender and gender identification, and as such these experiences may provide young people with insight into the pervasive inequality experienced by racial and ethnic minorities, immigrants, and migrants.

Narratives constructed around male entitlement might also play a role in these interesting findings with regard to gender. In all of the countries included here, men continue to hold positions of power. This translates into messages received, from a very young age, regarding norms for women and men, which in turn informs narratives among both boys and girls, within families and peer groups. These norms can be supported or challenged. This study focused on native-born adolescents, meaning that the boys in this sample were within two intersecting positions of power, by being both male and native-born. This implies that boys were negotiating their own positions relative to both girls and non-native students. Boys who are willing to extend human rights to girls counter this dominant narrative. More research into these connections using mixed methods, which could examine in more depth the relationships between power, entitlement, and intercultural attitudes, would be a fruitful next step for researchers to take.

The percent native born in each school, which was a measure of intercultural contact in this analysis, was not associated with positive intercultural attitudes at the school level in any group or along any of the factors, except a positive association with protectionist attitudes in Poland. This may be due, at least partly, to the lack of diversity in many of the schools, which was described earlier. Recall, that schools in Poland were the most homogenous of all of the countries in this study. This finding suggests that the contact theory might not be substantial enough to bring about more positive attitudes, particularly in contexts where the contact is extremely limited, for example where it had an opposite effect in Poland in this study. However, the value of conducting a multi-group analysis is clear in this case, because the expected relationship on the basis of contact theory was not found in any other context, some of which do have a degree of diversity present in schools, such as Greece and Spain.

This suggests that the very common proposition that providing young people with intercultural contact may improve intergroup attitudes might not be an effective or sufficient solution. According to Contact Theory, there are also four conditions which must be met, which are often ignored in simple applications of the theory: that the contact is between groups that are of equal status, that the contact is characterized by a common

goal, that the groups are engaged in cooperative activity, with the endorsement of authorities (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 1998). While it is often the case that the educational context supports the latter three conditions, the first condition, that contact between groups is of equal status, is unlikely to be supported. Schools are contexts which are influenced by the dominant society, and the power relations that are present. While schools can anticipate and challenge the values and norms of the dominant society, the power structures are pervasive enough to support a degree of skepticism when it comes to this first condition.

In contrast, the positive and democratic climate of schools do seem to have a very promising role to play. Evidence of associations between positive and democratic school climates and positive intergroup attitudes were found in this analysis, especially with regard to positive climates. Positive student-teacher relationships, in which young people feel listened to and that teachers care about their well-being, might be associated with positive intergroup attitudes for some of the same reasons discussed above, such as increased trust which might generalize to others. If young people feel cared for, it is possibly the case that they are more willing to extend the care to others, even others they do not know. This is in line with a theory of a moral imperative of care, which Gilligan (1992). Young people may make sense of their own position as a member of various intersecting groups by conceiving of the other as groups deserving or needing care and support. Indeed, Haste and Abrahams's theory (2008) of moral development highlights the position of one group relative to the other, as well as cultural narratives available which in this case may be narratives of care, is especially relevant and useful here.

The value of democratic participation was also found to be associated with positive attitudes. It is perhaps the case that young people who experience broad participation in their schools are more willing to include minority groups as well. This finding was remarkably similar across the contexts included in this study, which included countries with long-standing and new democracies. Hello, Sheepers, & Gijsberts (2002) proposed that education systems in long-standing democracies have had a longer period of time with a liberal democratic tradition in education. One study using the IEA Civic Education Study of 1999 (Torney-Purta et al, 2001), as well as the ICCS 2009 data found differences in attitudes within old and new democracies in the 1999 data but not the 2009 data (Barber, Ross, Higdon, Torney-Purta, under review). In this analysis, I found that the association

between democratic climates in schools and positive intercultural attitudes remarkably similar across countries with long-standing as well as new democracies. Barber and colleagues (2013) found that there was not a difference in average support for immigrant's rights in countries with long-standing versus new democratic systems, using data from the 1999 CIVED study. Taken together, it does not appear to be the case that the democratic tradition in the national context was related to positive intergroup attitudes, however lived experience of democratic practice in schools was, in every context in this study.

In summary, school contexts are highly relevant to the intergroup attitudes of young people, which are included in the Developmental Niche model of Torney-Purta and colleagues (2011). The overall findings of this study support the idea that national and school contexts should be taken seriously as sites where positive intergroup attitudes may develop. This study uncovered some elements of the school context that were particularly relevant to positive intergroup attitudes--positive student and teacher relations and democratic practice in schools. In this study, intercultural contact and integrated threat were found to be much less relevant. Rather, the overall culture and climate of schools, which may include cultural tools and frameworks to make sense of the self and the other, and in democratic contexts, seemed much more relevant here. Further research into the particular cultural tools and narratives that are being utilized, and how those tools are enacted and learned in school communities of practice may further explain the role of culture and environment in the development of intergroup attitudes.

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